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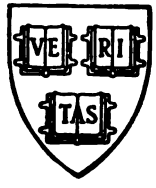

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MEMORIES

OF

YOUTH AND MANHOOD

BY

SIDNEY WILLARD

VOLUME II.

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CHAPTER XIX.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

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On the 21st of June, 1798, the day of the dismission of the Senior Class from all academic exercises, the class met in the College chapel to attend the accustomed ceremonies of the occasion, and afterwards to enjoy the usual festivities of the day, since called, for the sake of a name, and for brevity's sake, Class Day. There had been a want of perfect harmony in the previous proceedings, which in some degree marred the social enjoyments of the day; but with the day all dissension closed, awaiting the dawn of another day, the harbinger of the brighter recollections of four years spent in pleasant and peaceful intercourse. There lingered no lasting alienations of feeling. Whatever were the occasions of the discontent, it soon expired, was buried in the dark recesses of discarded memories, and there lay lost and forgotten.

At a later period, a similar but more serious dissension, in a larger class, occurred, producing temporary

alienations of feeling, and followed by the same sober second-thought. The members (though lessened in number from year to year by death) have met annually at the College jubilee, like brothers of the same household, for more than half a century. Indeed the class feeling in Harvard College (and no less I suppose in other New England colleges) is very abiding. Meeting together, while undergraduates, daily, in the lecture-rooms and at their public devotions, and joining in their walks and recreations, there grows up a strong, centralized feeling, as of many members of one body. An equalized feeling of friendship or affection of each individual to every other, among such a number, is not one of the things possible. Hence they form themselves into various small groups, partly accidental, from previous friendships at the same schools, from proximity in their new abode, from family connections and friendships; but most of all, perhaps, from real or supposed congeniality in their dispositions, and in their favorite studies or pleasures. All this is going on while they are undergraduates; and naturally and necessarily, and innocently for the most part, it results in clanships, but without conflicts springing up between them; and all these consisting of voluntary associates, as they do, there is little danger of invidious distinctions and irritating jealousies between them, weakening their loyalty to the central power as a whole. The whole class meets in democratic mass, as occasion for legitimate objects requires, and, duly organized, they conduct their proceedings by parliamentary rules; so that no faction is likely to be strong enough to destroy the unity of the body. The only danger is that of insubordination to the higher power.

All the minor voluntary associations are of course temporary. When a class has passed through the prescribed course of study, and its members have received their diplomas, these associated clubs are merged in the mass; and the ties of individuals to each other and to the whole become strengthened and enduring. With many, very many, these ties increase with their increasing years; and in many classes they become more intense by their gathering in considerable number at the annual festivities of Commencement, and renewing their memories of the past, turned to higher uses by mingling with them their growing experience.

From this digression I must return to the day of our leave-taking and dispersion. After the exercises of the chapel, and visiting the President, Professors, and Tutors at the President's house, according to the custom still existing, we marched in procession round the College halls, to another hall in Porter's tavern, (which some dozen or fifteen of the oldest living graduates may perhaps remember as Bradish's tavern, of ancient celebrity,) where we dined. After dining we assembled at the Liberty Tree, (according to another custom still existing,) and in due time, having taken leave of each other, we departed, some of us to our family homes, and others to their rooms to make preparations for their departure.

This was the last general meeting of the class for social fellowship and solemn parting; for on Commencement day, after the public academical exercises and ceremonials, most of the graduates of the day were in company with their kinsfolk and family friends, in various apartments, or under temporary awnings in dif-

ferent parts of the village, to enjoy their congratulations, and with them the refreshments provided for the body, together with the "feast of reason and the flow of soul."

Commencement day, in the year 1798, was a day bereft, in some respects, of its wonted cheerfulness. Instead of the serene summer's dawn, and the clear rising of the sun,

> "The dawn was overcast, the morning lowered,
> And heavily in clouds brought on the day."

In the evening, from the time that the public exercises closed until twilight, the rain descended in torrents. The President lay prostrate on his bed from the effects of a violent disease, from which it was feared he could not recover.* His house, which on all occasions was the abode of hospitality, and on Commencement day especially so, (being the great College anniversary,) was now a house of stillness, anxiety, and watching. For seventeen successive years it had been thronged on this anniversary from morn till night, by welcome visitors, cheerfully greeted and cared for, and now it was like a house of mourning for the dead.

After the literary exercises of the day were closed, the officers in the different branches of the College government and instruction, Masters of Arts, and invited guests, repaired to the College dining-hall without the ceremony of a procession formed according to dignity or priority of right. This the elements forbade. Each one ran the short race as he best could. But as the

* The Rev. Dr. Simeon Howard, senior clergyman of the Corporation, presided at the public exercises, and announced the degrees.

Alumni arrived, they naturally avoided taking possession of the seats usually occupied by the government of the College. The Governor, Increase Sumner, I suppose, was present, and no doubt all possible respect was paid to the Overseers as well as to the Corporation. I was not present, but dined at my father's house with a few friends, of whom the late Hon. Moses Brown of Beverly was one. We went together to the College hall after dinner; but the honorable and reverend Corporation and Overseers had retired, and I do not remember whether there was any person presiding. If there were, a statue would have been as well. The age of wine and wassail, those potent aids to patriotism, mirth, and song, had not wholly passed away. The merry glee was at that time outrivalled by *Adams and Liberty*, the national patriotic song, so often and on so many occasions sung, and everywhere so familiarly known that all could join in grand chorus.

On that day, my class having reached the goal, the end of their academic course, — *haud passibus æquis*, — some by merit and some by favor received their first degree, namely, Bachelor of Arts, and thus were placed severally on the same level, and shared equally the same nominal literary inheritance. The President's generous judgment from year to year expressed *pro forma*, "*quos scio idoneos esse*," &c., pronounced upon the candidates presented for the degree, has never been called in question by the Governor, who, as chairman of the Overseers, responds for the Board. We were thus admitted in a body to the same privileges, with the same *imprimatur* in our diplomas. These were our free papers, the evidence that we were *alumni* of Har-

vard College, with no deductions for short-comings, and no credits for surpassing merit. The future was to show who deserved the honor, and who deserved to forfeit it. Few there were who had no occasion to regret time misspent, and opportunities of literary improvement neglected. The youngest members were now old enough to repent of their past remissness, and to derive what recompense they might from the ample time before them to repair and build upon the foundation already laid, to choose and persevere in their favorite studies and pursuits, and to discover what part they were best fitted to perform on the great stage of human action. There have been among them few, if any, castaways, many very respectable men in different callings, and several eminently distinguished.

But first of all, the solemn period of transition from the retired study to the busy world demanded of each of us calm and deliberate reflection, introspection into our own minds, communion with "the divinity which stirs within," and comparison of what we had been with what we should be, followed by resolutions to amend whatever was defective or wrong in our intellectual, moral, and religious state; repairing for aid to enforce them to God's revealed will, and to the maxims and teachings and examples of wise and good men; one of whom, of a former age, we might consider as admonishing us, in lines never to be erased, and none the worse for being familiar to all, that

> "'T is greatly wise to talk with our past hours,
> And ask them what report they bore to heaven;
> And how they might have borne more welcome news."*

* Young.

And another wise man of earlier date, who knew how to abide by his own resolutions, says:

> "To-day deep thoughts resolve with me to drench
> In mirth, that, after, no repenting draws;
> To measure life learn thou betimes, and know
> Toward solid good what leads the nearest way;
> For other things mild Heaven a time ordains,
> And disapproves that care, though wise in show,
> That with superfluous burden loads the day,
> And, when God sends a cheerful hour, refrains."*

Having spoken of my associates as one body of united brethren, with whom I travelled for four years, engaged in similar pursuits, and looking forward to the same end, until, being reached, we separated, each going to his own home, it may naturally be expected that I should speak of them individually, showing who they were and what they have since done; having followed most of them personally or historically to the end of their life's journey, and now taking an affectionate leave of those who remain on their way, not knowing which of us shall there first arrive.

* Milton.

CHAPTER XX.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Biographical Sketches of my Classmates, alphabetically arranged.

JOHN ABBOT, of Westford, was born January 27, 1777, and was brought up to labor on his father's farm in that town. But his desire for learning, strengthened probably by the establishment of the Academy in that place in 1792, and by the consequent facility of pursuing the studies requisite for admission to College, was such, that, with his father's consent, he there prepared for entering College under the instruction of Levi Hedge, the Preceptor of the Academy. His character at College, both moral and literary, demonstrated the correctness of his choice. He completed the four years' course of study with the well-earned reputation of being a good scholar, and in all respects an exemplary young man. Immediately he was chosen Preceptor of the Academy at Westford, which office he accepted, and continued in nearly two years; when the state of his health required him to relinquish it. At the same time that he began his work as a teacher, he entered his name as a student at law in the office of James Prescott, then of Westford. Soon after he quitted the

Academy he journeyed to Vermont for the benefit of his health, and in October, 1800, entered his name as a law-student with Daniel Chipman of Middlebury, and a year afterwards was admitted to practice in the County Courts in that State. He returned to Massachusetts; and a further period of study being required by the rules of the bar in this State, he complied with this requisition in the town of Cambridge. He was admitted to the bar in Plymouth County; but soon established himself permanently in his profession in his native town. From his father, who died in 1804, he inherited the house and twenty acres of land. August 22d of the same year he was chosen a Trustee of the Academy, and in the year following, Treasurer. Under his discreet management for forty-nine years the fund increased from $ 6,213.17 to $ 16,808.24, an increase of $ 10,595.07, he asking and receiving no compensation for his services, and bequeathing in his last will two thousand dollars in addition to the fund. He also bequeathed to the First Congregational Church (Unitarian) in Westford, which he had done much to sustain in his lifetime, the same amount. There was a secession from this church about twenty years ago which materially lessened the ability of the people to support a minister; and some of the members, perhaps, who remained, were not ready to do their share.

Mr. Abbot died on Sunday, April 30, 1854. He had attended church in the morning, was taken ill at a quarter past one, P. M., and died at half past three. He had been a widower thirty-three years. In the year 1833 he retired from the practice of law. About this time, or within three or four years after, his son and only child, John William Pitt, who graduated

at Harvard College in 1827, was married to a most estimable lady, daughter of Rev. Jacob Abbot, who was a graduate of Harvard College in the year 1792. John, the father, long habituated to an abode in his antique mansion, and to his manner of living, and having a housekeeper who knew his ways and wants, lived on as before, but provided a house for his son almost contiguous to his own. Thus, though forming in some respects two families, there was still that beautiful daily communion between them which made them one. The son succeeding his father in professional business, had the benefit of his experience and advice, and the father, in matters personal, had the benefit of the son's activity and trustworthiness to bear a part of his burdens. I have witnessed both.

Mr. Abbot never seemed to me to have any desire for political distinction. To the Convention of 1820 for revising (not making) the Constitution of Government of Massachusetts, most of the towns were ambitious of delegating their wisest men. Mr. Abbot was delegated on this ground, doubtless; and the people were not disappointed. He did not enter at great length, or with great frequency, into the debates, but he was constant and watchful, and always spoke directly to the purpose. He never did anything for display or outward show in his scholastic, professional, or political relations, or in anything else. In the legislative year beginning May, 1822, he was one of the Senators from Middlesex. It was a time of no political excitement; but there are always occasions when men of such legal knowledge and sound judgment as Mr. Abbot possessed are wanted in legislative bodies, and whose services are duly appreciated by the wise and good.

In the sixtieth year from the beginning of my acquaintance with him he died. A most truthful man he was in word and deed, and in all relations, public and private. In compliance with his wish, and that of my excellent friend, the late Dr. Hedge, both Trustees of Westford Academy, I was chosen a member of the Board forty years ago; thus giving me with the latter an annual call for a pleasant excursion to a village delightful for its sweet interchange of hill and valley, where art, not destroying, has assisted nature, and where the view of distant mountains adds sublimity to the beauty of the surrounding scenery. Here we were soon greeted by our friend Abbot, in his calm, kind, and unpretending manner, but with a sincerity well understood, and were made to feel ourselves welcome to the hospitalities of his house, without superfluous professions and formalities. And so it continued with me, after our friend and our instructor of old time, Dr. Hedge, had by his infirmities become unable to accompany me.

Until within a few years past, Mr. Abbot was usually present at Commencement, and at the exercises of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, of which he was a member, on the following day. His attachment to the University was very strong; and he intimated to me several years since, without going into any particulars, that he should remember his *Alma Mater* in his will. This he did. The amount and the purpose of the legacy I do not know; but "about six months before his decease, on account of the management of the institution by the State Legislatures, he revoked and annulled the legacy given."

Isaac Adams, of Newbury, was born February 15, 1777. His health, I believe, when he entered College, was not good, and consequently his animal spirits were sometimes at a low ebb. As it might be supposed, therefore, his habits were more retired than those of his classmates generally. But notwithstanding his comparative seclusion, he preserved great amenity of disposition and manners in his intercourse with his fellows, and a high rank for his literary acquirements. He studied physic, but never practised to any considerable extent, if at all. He resided in his native place, where his health gradually declined till the time of his death, in the year 1807.

Isaac Allen, of Weston, was the third in the number of the years and days of his life among the elders of his class, and was born February 15, 1770. He was one of those characters who add variety to the daily round of academical duties. Not wanting in the devotion of a reasonable portion of his time to the stated lessons, he yet found opportunity to observe men and things, and make his quaint remarks upon them and on passing events; raking up his old saws, or inventing new ones, to amuse, instruct, admonish, and make wiser his inexperienced young friends. He resided some time at College after taking his degree, pursuing the study of divinity, and after he received approbation to preach; and on the 14th of March, 1804, he was ordained as the minister of the Congregational Church in Bolton. There he remained forty years, ministering to the people in the pulpit and in their houses, and found it a most fitting place for the use of his gifts. He was never married except to the Church. He was the pastor of a somewhat numerous flock, that listened to his voice; and he knew their names, and they followed him; but a stranger that came unawares they would not follow, and they strayed not from the fold.

Of more wisdom and sagacity than of book-learning, frank and fearless on all occasions, he turned his acquirements and experience to good account in his private intercourse, as well as in the pulpit. By his frugality, and at the same time without meanness or stinted hospitality, he acquired a considerable estate, which he bequeathed to the church and parish over which he had so long been the faithful and revered overseer. He died in 1844.

William Austin, of Charlestown, was born March 2, 1778. At no time, so far as I can remember, did he, while at College, show any desire to excel in the prescribed studies, being doubtless of the opinion, that one has as good a right of choice in the studies he shall pursue, as in the companions with whom he shall choose to associate. Apart from this, which was unjust to himself, he employed much of his time usefully, and was among the most distinguished belle-lettrists — if I may use a word of Coleridge's coining — of his class, and wrote with far more facility and sprightliness than the generality of its members.

Soon after he received his degree he went to England as a literary amateur and observer, and wrote many letters home, which, after his return, he collected and published in a volume. They embrace a variety of topics, and among them descriptions of some of the most distinguished Parliamentary speakers at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century,

which form an interesting part of the book. As a whole, it is entitled to much more praise than it received.

For his professional life he studied law, and practised in this profession as an attorney, counsellor, and advocate. In the last capacity he was not successful. His ideas, indeed, were quick, and often brilliant; but his temperament was impulsive, and he failed in that degree of illustrative amplification, and that continuity of thought, which are necessary to lead common minds to the desired conclusion.

As a companion he was entertaining and instructive, one whom it was pleasing to meet even casually in the street; for there was always something uppermost in his mind, and one might perceive in his approach that he had something to say; — and he said it; very abruptly, perhaps, and sometimes it was very odd, but not infrequently suggestive of more than was said. I remember a characteristic anecdote concerning him, that was told by a common friend; namely, that in London Austin accompanied him one day for the purpose of seeing George III. as he passed in his chariot from St. James's to the Parliament-House; and when the king was in sight, Austin pointed towards him, at the same time addressing his friend and countryman, "Do you see that man? He burnt my father's barn." Austin was not born till two years, nearly, after the battle of Bunker Hill; but in his childhood he could see ample proofs of the awful conflagration, in the cellar walls, and naked chimneys, and fragments of timber, charred, but not wholly consumed.

While in active life Austin belonged to the Democratic party, and for two years, beginning in May, 1822,

he was a member of the Massachusetts Senate for the county of Middlesex. It was at a time when party politics interfered little with legislation. He was also a delegate from Charlestown to the Convention for revising the Constitution of Massachusetts, and upon some of the proposed amendments he took an active part in the debates. In the debate concerning the government of Harvard College he manifested a liberal spirit. With his usual frankness, he acknowledged that "he had formerly entertained prejudices against the College, but they had long since been dissipated." It is a remarkable fact that there were eight members of the class graduated at Harvard College in 1798 who were members of this Convention; namely, John Abbot, William Austin, Samuel P. P. Fay, Isaac Fiske, Henry Gardner, Joseph Story, Richard Sullivan, and Joseph Tuckerman.

Though Austin wrote with facility, from a mind well stored, I am not aware that he contributed largely to the literature of his times. His story of Peter Rugg, published in the Galaxy, a paper conducted by Joseph T. Buckingham, had great celebrity, and was copied in many newspapers and miscellaneous journals. It is an *extravaganza*, unsurpassed in its kind, and so well and consistently sustained, that the reader cannot fail to follow the hero in his perpetual motion with a feeling of sympathy and anxiety for his fate.

I have omitted to mention in its proper place what I here add; namely, that Austin was elected at the usual time a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, but did not accept, declaring his determination not to belong to any secret society.

Thomas Beede, of Poplin, New Hampshire, was born, November 28, 1771. He was among the more studious members of the class; a man of kind feelings, a friend of order, and exemplary in all respects. He studied divinity, and was soon settled in the ministry in the Congregational Church of Wilton, New Hampshire, where he remained in that relation till the approach of old age. For several years after it was dissolved, he was employed as an itinerant preacher of the Universalist denomination, and died in the autumn of the year 1848.

John Burnham, of Scarborough, Maine, was born, May 17, 1780. He was one of that younger portion of the class who did not make that use of opportunities for learning of which the more reflecting avail themselves. He studied law, and practised in that profession in his native State. No particulars of his history have come to my knowledge, except the account of his death at Limerick, Maine, in the year 1825.

Abiel Chandler, of Lexington, was born January 2, 1771. He was apparently a strong, muscular man when he entered College, of grave deportment, of kind disposition, and estimable moral character. His health became impaired before he took his degree, and he died in about a year afterward, at his own home.

William Ellery Channing, of Newport, Rhode Island, was born April 7, 1780. During the whole time of his connection with College as an undergraduate, he was a member of the family of Chief Justice Dana, whose wife was Channing's maternal aunt. Though half a mile distant from College, he was punctual in his attendance on the exercises, although morning prayers were at six o'clock through the whole year, immediately followed by recitations. In the recitation-room his classmates soon took note of him for the highest mark. In mathematics he probably had his superiors; but in rhetoric and written compositions, in the languages, in ethical and intellectual science and metaphysics, he was unsurpassed by any, and in some of these eminent above all. His command of pure English, and intelligible, accurate, and fluent expression of the author's thoughts in his translations of passages assigned to him in Latin and Greek, and his natural and graceful address in recitations of the English studies, translating in a manner the thoughts of the authors which he had made his own into language of his own, were so remarkable, that he was acknowledged without rivalship, and consequently without envy, to be chief. It was therefore expected by every member of the class, at the close of the academic course, that the most distinguished part in the Commencement exhibition would be assigned to him, as what was justly due. Of the applause with which this was received in its delivery I have spoken in its proper place.

In the autumn of 1798 he left his home in Newport for Richmond, Virginia, to reside, as an instructor, in the family of David Randolph, then United States Marshal for that district. He had already chosen his profession; and his literary taste and acquirements, his intellectual culture, and, above all, his deep-grounded moral and religious principles, as matters of sentiment, of feeling, and of duty, secured him against the corrupting influences which, among strangers and in a state of society so different from that to which he had been accustomed,

might otherwise have proved to be temptations too strong for the virtue of so young a man.

Mr. Channing's biographer had the good fortune to procure many letters that his distant kinsman wrote to his family and intimate College friends and classmates, which present a striking picture of his successive states of feeling and mental experience during his whole sojourn in his far-off abode. His first impressions were not only pleasing, but even delightful. He was at once introduced to all the best families and the most distinguished men of the city and neighborhood. Their easy, familiar intercourse he contrasted with the constraint and cold reserve in the manners and address of the men of the North, and compared their hospitality and generosity with the indifference and parsimony often noticed in our colder region. In all this, however, he lost sight of the peculiar and personal circumstances of his change of place, of what was due to a young stranger of his character and connections and opportunities, so prominent at home above those who had enjoyed similar advantages of culture in which he had so much excelled. Novelty also lent her aid to the tide of enthusiasm, which was now rising to its full flood. But the tide soon ebbed. Slavery he loathed, where it existed with its greatest alleviations. Social intercourse with the kind, respected family with which he dwelt, and with their friends, gradually lessened, until it almost ceased. The training of twelve boys in his school, and his devotion at the same time to study, impaired his health and cast a gloomy shade over his mind, which fashionable society as it then and there existed had no power to remove.

After much reading and study of various kinds, he

devoted himself mainly to the study of the Bible, for which his talents and his previous knowledge of the Greek language and his ethical and metaphysical acquirements had well prepared him. What time he could command, apart from that which was occupied in his school, including what he stole from the hours that belonged to sleep, and gained by abstemiousness in diet, he passed in solitude and in alternations of study and reverie, in expansive projects of undertakings in which he employed his hours for the promotion of human progress in all that was morally and religiously good, and in sighing for genial companions, of whom he had none.

He returned to Newport in July, 1800, and soon after visited his relatives and friends in Cambridge, much altered and careworn in his appearance. But by a few months in summer and early autumn spent at the home of his childhood and youth, and the enjoyment of the invigorating breezes of his native island, to him island of bliss, at the very name of which his enthusiasm kindled, his health improved, his spirits were renovated, and early in the year 1802 he became a resident at Harvard College, in an office of small income which did not interfere materially with his professional studies. From this time until his ordination as minister of Federal Street Church, our intercourse was intimate and affectionate, and so continued, as opportunity offered, during the whole of his ministry.

The "Memoir of William Ellery Channing, with Extracts from his Correspondence and Manuscripts," by his nephew, William Henry Channing, is a memorial worthy of the author and of the subject of it; and no book of the kind is more widely known and read, and more highly appreciated.

THOMAS COLE, of Marlborough, Massachusetts, was born December 29, 1779. He was one of those younger members of the class who, like myself and several others, did not duly appreciate the opportunities for learning that we might have enjoyed in the earlier period of our privilege in College. Ample amends, however, he made at a later period, by industry and self-improvement, and became a great public benefactor as an instructor of youth, and by imparting the knowledge he acquired to a multitude of others. Soon after he left College he took charge of a school, or academy, as I believe it was called, at Marblehead, and gained a reputation in this important department of labor which caused his services in the same vocation to be sought elsewhere. Under very favorable circumstances he established a female school at Salem, in which, as the teacher, he had remarkable success. In this occupation he passed a long period of his active life, with grateful returns of affection for his unwearied services, for his gentle and effective government, and for his aptness to teach and to inspire the love of learning, as well on the part of his pupils as on that of their parents and guardians.

Several years before his decease, he relinquished these labors, wearing indeed, though cheerfully performed; and having become possessed of means sufficient to indulge himself in his favorite pursuits, he passed his time in philosophical studies, except that portion of it which he gave without grudging to his family and friends, and generously spent in the cause of education, of charity and religion, in the city of his abode. A heartfelt tribute of affection was paid to his

memory by his friend and classmate, Humphrey Devereux, Esq. of Salem, in an obituary notice soon after his decease, in June, 1852. Of his social character Mr. Devereux said: "He was of a cheerful and happy temperament. He had no marked peculiarities to incommode his associates; mild, amiable, and tolerant, he excited no enmity, and half a century of intimacy, from ingenuous and thoughtless youth to ripened age, cannot recall aught to censure, or to chill the warmth of early affection. He was a favorite of his friends from the beautiful opening of early life through his long career of useful and honorable service." Suddenly and unconsciously, but not until after repeated and timely forewarning; yet still not knowing whether with him tomorrow would be as this day, or the next hour like the present, (an uncertainty which caused him no unrest,) he was overtaken and overcome by his last sleep, not unprepared for, but waiting God's time, and praying for no delay.

CORNELIUS COOLIDGE, of Watertown, was born August 30, 1778. Not long after he was graduated he engaged with great activity and zeal in mercantile business, and for many years with good success. But like many others in the same pursuit, of like ardor and enterprise, he failed; and was obliged to resort to other means of living. Together with a liberal share of native energy, he was fertile in expedients, and turned his attention to architecture, to the erection of buildings by contract, and to brokerage in real estate. He led a busy life, until he was arrested by fatal disease, which terminated in his death in the year 1843.

ANDREW CROSWELL, of Plymouth, was born April

9, 1778. He was one of the more diffident and retired number of students, and was not often seen mingling with us in our pastimes. His time, I doubt not, was profitably employed. At the semicentennial meeting of the survivors of his class, in the year 1848, he was cordially greeted by them, not as a stranger, but as one who had been seen by few, and that rarely, for fifty years. He is still living, personally and professionally respected, as a practising physician in the town of Mercer and State of Maine. Had he been met by us anywhere else, instead of receiving a hearty recognition, he would have been passed by as a gentleman unknown, though highly deserving of friendly notice and regard.

Isaiah Cushing, of Hingham, was born February 20, 1777. He studied physic after he received his degree. He took up his abode at Thomaston, Maine, as a practising physician, several years before his death, which occurred in the year 1819.

Humphrey Devereux, of Marblehead, was born August 6, 1779. His ancestors were of French origin, and passed into England with William the Conqueror; "a sturdy Baron by the name of D'Evereux" being among his followers. Some of the family of Devereux, Earl of Essex, the favorite of Elizabeth, had their choice to emigrate to Ireland, or suffer for their political heresies. They chose the former; and several of their descendants came to this country. The first of Humphrey's progenitors who came to Massachusetts from England arrived as early as 1630, and settled in Marblehead, on a farm bought of the agent of the celebrated Hugh Peters; which has ever since been occupied by descendants till within a short period.

Though among the youngest of his class, Humphrey Devereux was as constant and exemplary in all his duties as any of its members. In the literary race he was among the foremost, *carcere ad metam;* and in all his relations as a pupil and fellow-student his bearing was uniformly gentlemanly and unassuming.

After he took his degree he entered the office of John Lowell, Esq. of Boston, who had then reached a legal and political eminence among the most distinguished in his profession. At the completion of the usual term of study, he was admitted to the Bar at the Suffolk Court of Common Pleas. During his term of study, an interesting period of the political history of the country, he enjoyed frequent opportunities of listening to the conversations and discussions of Mr. Lowell and his professional and political associates, and there laid the foundation of the political principles to which he has ever since adhered. Instead of entering into the practice of the profession of his choice, the state of his health was such that he indulged his inclination for travel, and, combining business with pleasure, passed a year of great enjoyment in Europe. Seven years more he devoted to commercial enterprise in voyages to the East Indies and Europe personally, having the whole control and management; at the termination of which he surrendered himself to endearing domestic ties and mercantile business in Salem, where he still lives and enjoys the society of intelligent, literary, and business men, of whom that city affords its full share.

For political office or distinction Mr. Devereux has never manifested or felt any inclination; not that he has been an indifferent looker-on, for he has always

readily afforded his aid and influence for promoting wise and conservative measures of government, and for choosing honorable and intelligent men for office to sustain such measures.

To Harvard College Mr. Devereux has been a constant friend, and in one department a benefactor, not only by his good wishes and influence, but by contributing generously to its support and enlargement. His attachment to the University has been very strong and constant. Particularly it is due to him from the survivors of his class (for whom I may take the liberty to speak) to remember his agency in bringing them together on the fiftieth anniversary of their discharge from a state of pupilage, to revisit their Alma Mater, and to rejoice in finding her not with any marks of languor and decrepitude, but, on the contrary, with the appearance of vigorous health and rejuvenescence. To him, more than to all others, we were indebted for this reunion. With him the purpose originated. Fortunately there were several of our number easy of access with whom he could hold a consultation upon the matter: this he did. It was a part of the preliminary labor for his own encouragement; and finding a ready concurrence, he performed all the work cheerfully and effectively.* He wrote a very appropriate and winning circular letter, (adding to his own signature the signatures of a few of his classmates in the immediate vicinity of the College,) which he sent to each member of the survivors, and which drew all of them who were able to come to the hallowed ground. Of what took place there, I shall say a few words in the sequel.

* See Appendix.

Joseph Emerson, of Hollis, New Hampshire, was born October 13, 1777. He never appeared to enjoy good health, and in the course of his college life was visited with a severe illness of long continuance. This interruption in his studies excepted, he was remarkable for his constancy and perseverance in study, and was distinguished for his literary and scientific acquirements. There was nothing worth acquiring that he did not wish to learn and to master. But his taste was capricious, and there was always something uppermost in his notions of utility, when comparing different branches of study, which subjected him to sudden changes of opinion. Among other things, I remember his untiring efforts to acquire knowledge and skill in vocal and instrumental music. Doubtless he comprehended the science, for his mind in all its vicissitudes was scientific; but his ear was imperfect, and his progress, consequently, in the practical part, was both imperfect and tardy, and in the judgment of any one, himself excepted, valueless. In scraping the strings of his violoncello, he was as diligent as a boy with his bow and arrow; and about as apt to miss his mark. I have often thought of his perseverance in these attempts, as a remarkable exhibition of this virtue in a fruitless undertaking; almost parallel with that of days and nights devoted to the discovery of perpetual motion or the squaring of the circle. Not so, however, did he deem it, even when he came to acknowledge his inaptitude, long afterwards, in stronger terms than I have expressed it. "It is not many years since," he said, "it was with greatest difficulty I could take a sound, and did not certainly know whether I had the right sound or not.

Though I cannot expect ever to perform well, yet for all the gold of Ophir I would not sell the small degree that I have acquired in this heavenly art. I prize my knowledge of music at least as highly as my knowledge of natural philosophy." This extraordinary result must have been arrived at, as I should think, by computing the value of an acquisition according to the time and labor it has cost, and not according to its relative importance, or the degree of perfection reached in art and skill in its practical use. With an ear so obtuse, though I can associate with it the idea of pleasurable sensation from plaintive or cheerful melodies, it can hardly be conceived that it can be much delighted with harmony or pained by discord.

During our college life, as undergraduates, I associated a good deal with Emerson, and always liked him. Being three years older than myself, (a considerable difference between youth in their teens, between tiny youth and proximate manhood,) I looked up to him with a good deal of respect; not only, however, on this account, but for his sobriety, neither simulated nor repulsive, but accompanied by sincerity, frankness, and kind affection; and for his learning too, for his acquirements were great. Afterwards I knew him as a resident graduate at College during part of the period of his professional studies, and when a Tutor in Mathematics during two years. Still further, I continued a friendly acquaintance with him while he was the minister of a church in my native town, Beverly. He was always the same true man, frank even to a degree of bluntness, but not offensive to those who knew him, and, from the simplicity of his manner and the

sincerity speaking through his countenance, not apt to offend even an intelligent stranger.

Emerson passed the first year after his graduation in Framingham, as the teacher in the Academy at that place. Having determined on the professional study of Theology, he made up his mind to pursue it with Dr. Emmons, minister of the church in Franklin, the dauntless Coriphæus of Hopkinsianism. This choice of a guide seems to have been made, not from a prepossession in favor of the Theology so denominated, but partly, at least, from curiosity, from a desire to learn more thoroughly what were the elements of which the theology was made up. In this choice he made a mistake. His turn of mind was already sufficiently metaphysical, while his learning was in physics rather. Thus placing himself under a master of theological subtilties, who was ever reaching after things unattainable, and striving to reconcile apparent contradictions in things beyond human comprehension, the tendency must have been rather to narrow than to enlarge his mind, rather to cramp his freedom of thought than to give it energy and expansion.

His theological opinions were firmly fixed when he entered upon the duties of his office as Tutor in the mathematical department in Harvard College. In this office he was eminently useful. Frequently I conversed with him on theological subjects, freely and without embarrassment or impatience on either side. I remember, in one of our walks, on stating to him some of the difficulties concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, that he remarked, he had found less difficulty in coming to the belief of the Trinity than that of the existence

of matter. For my unmetaphysical mind, this preponderance of faith in the insensible over the palpable, in the mysterious over the sensible, appeared to me among the extraordinary things which lie outside of all argumentation.

Mr. Emerson was the first minister of a new Congregational Church in Beverly, from the year 1803 to 1816; when, in the latter year, his health was so much impaired that he felt compelled to withdraw from that office, and devoted himself according to his physical strength to the business of instructing the young; first at Byfield, in the year 1818, when his wife became the principal laborer in the work of instruction of a female school, and whence, he said, "he did not expect to remove until he removed to the eternal world." But three years afterwards we find him at Saugus, in the same vocation, with the additional labor of supplying the pulpit in that place.

Last of all, he removed to Wethersfield, Connecticut, where he established a female school. Gradually his health continued to decline until his death in 1833.

He was a good man, enthusiastic as well in all his undertakings as in religion; and in all things, except his early established opinions in theology, he was subject to frequent and sudden changes of opinion and purposes. It was thus in his notions about education. On every new movement of his own, or made such by adoption, he entered and labored with all his soul and might until he thought he had found some better way; and this, as he thought, was soon found.

On his death-bed, the only reason he gave why he wished to live longer was a desire "to do something

for the Millennium. It is deepest in my heart." He had published his opinions concerning this looked-for event, which at one time engrossed all his thoughts, and to which they often recurred in the latter years of his life.

For most of the facts concerning him, after he left Beverly, I am indebted to his biographer and brother, Rev. Ralph Emerson, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Andover.

Samuel Phillips Prescott Fay, of Concord, was born January 10, 1778. Soon after he graduated he received a captain's commission in the American army, and joined the forces under the command of General Hamilton, stationed at Oxford, Massachusetts, where he remained in service during the quasi war with France, in 1798 – 9. He was appointed adjutant of a regiment. He was not, however, destined for

> "Seeking the bubble reputation
> Even in the cannon's mouth."

After the successful issue of the second mission of envoys appointed by President Adams to repair to France and treat with that haughty power, the army was disbanded. Hamilton, accompanied by some of his personal staff, visited Boston and the vicinity. Of this number was Fay, and Abraham Redwood Ellery, of Newport, R. I., a graduate of Harvard College in 1791. I had recently entered upon the duties of the office of Librarian of the College to which I had been chosen, and had the honor and gratification of seeing and hearing and waiting upon the General in his visit to the University, and the pleasure of meeting a classmate who soon made

Cambridge the place of his permanent abode and of his professional labors, and Ellery, who was an acquaintance of my father's family.

From the Library General Hamilton, accompanied by these gentlemen, went to the President's house, and was introduced to the family. During his short visit he was easily led into free conversation on matters of public interest suggested by my father, and no gentleman whom I have ever seen for so little time has left in my memory an impression so enduring of his person and of his social and intellectual gifts.

Fay, having studied his military tactics, was thinking of the Bar, which was to be his field of battle. For this he prepared and engaged in its bloodless conflicts with good success, until he accepted the gift of an office of more repose, in which is lodged the power to execute justice in matters temporal relating to the wills of the deceased and the rights of their heirs; an office in which he has acquitted himself as well with scrupulous fidelity as with intelligence and promptness, and not least, in cases now and then occurring, with that exemplary patience which peculiarity of circumstances demands. He was appointed Judge of Probate for Middlesex County in the year 1821.

While engaged in the practice of law, he took a reasonable degree of interest in the political concerns of the Commonwealth and the Union. He was a member of the Governor's Council for two years, beginning in May, 1818, and also of the Convention for revising the Constitution of Massachusetts in the year 1820; and kept a faithful eye on its proceedings, and uttered a seasonable word on some of its proposed changes. He was

elected a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College in 1824, which office he held until the new organization of the Board in 1852.

Isaac Fiske, of Weston, was born December 4, 1778. He studied law in the office of Hon. Artemas Ward, then of Weston. Not long after he was admitted to the Bar Mr. Ward removed to Charlestown, and thence to Boston,* and was a representative in the Eighth and Ninth Congresses, from the Suffolk district.

Fiske succeeded to Mr. Ward's lucrative business in the office at Weston, and approved himself to be, as he has ever since been, an example of constancy, skill, and fidelity in his official duties; verifying the proverb of Solomon, that "the hand of the diligent maketh rich." His son, Augustus H. Fiske, of the Suffolk Bar, has emulated the father, being devoted to his profession and

* Mr. Ward was one of the most distinguished lawyers in Middlesex County; a faithful advocate also, always adhering with remarkable tenacity to his clients' real or supposed rights. Samuel Dexter, then of Charlestown, and Timothy Bigelow and Samuel Dana of Groton, were his professional contemporaries in the same county. These were all leading advocates in the county of Middlesex in the last decade of the eighteenth century. It was not uncommon also at that time for the most eminent lawyers in different counties to follow in the train of the Justices of the Supreme Court in their circuits, as advocates in important cases. Theophilus Parsons of Newburyport, and Levi Lincoln of Worcester, father of the late Governor Lincoln, were often seen and heard at Cambridge during the session of the Supreme Court, and the Attorney-General, James Sullivan, was constant in his attendance, employed as well in civil as in criminal causes. The Court-House being at that time in the immediate neighborhood of the College, the students were frequent spectators at the trials going on, in all their varieties.

indefatigable in following out the details of its business, and is reaping annually a rich harvest as the reward of his industry.

Isaac Fiske was for many years Register of Probate for the County of Middlesex, to which office he was appointed in 1817. In transacting the business of this office, an office of great responsibility, he was remarkable alike for accuracy and despatch, and no less for his readiness to give advice and directions when called for to those who were intrusted, as executors or administrators, with the settlement of the estates of the deceased. In the midst of his useful labors in this office he was superseded in the year 1851, in consequence of a political change in the administration of the government of Massachusetts, and in compliance with a usage not uncommon, by which the public good is often sacrificed to party preferences, and attachments in appointments to office are sometimes falsely called claims. He is now active and robust, belonging to a family somewhat distinguished for longevity. An elder brother of his, Rev. Dr. Thaddeus Fiske of West Cambridge, who was minister of the Congregational Church in that place for more than thirty years, is the sole survivor of the class graduated in 1785. Though little reliance can be placed on human prophecy, it may not be presumptuous to predict that Isaac Fiske will outlive all his classmates.

Ralph Hill French, of Dracut, was born January 31, 1776. He studied law, was admitted to the Bar in due course, and commenced his professional business, I believe, in Marblehead; not many years afterwards he was chosen Register of Deeds for the County of Essex, and continued to hold this office until within a few years of the present time, when his health became so much impaired, that a successor was chosen in his stead. He was a Senator in the Massachusetts Legislature from Essex County, in the year beginning May, 1819.

Jonathan French, of Andover, was born August 16, 1778. His father, Jonathan French, was the minister of the South Parish in that town for more than thirty years. His ministry began not long after he received his degree, in 1771, and continued until his death, in 1809. My classmate, Jonathan, lived in my father's family as my room-mate during his first year in College, and shared with me the duties of President's Freshman; namely, to bear messages, as occasion required, to the Faculty and students. He was an industrious and good scholar, and exemplary in all respects. Being two years older than myself, his good moral and religious character, and his fidelity in study, were not wholly lost in their influence upon me. I have always remembered him with great affection, and regretted that opportunities for renewals of friendly greeting have been rare and brief. He studied divinity at Andover, under his father's direction, and was ordained as the pastor of the Congregational Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire, in the year 1803. He is one of the few ministers in New England who have performed all the duties of their calling in one and the same parish for half a century.

Twice or thrice I have been at his house in North Hampton, on my way to Portsmouth or returning, and once (thirty-two or three years ago) under peculiar

circumstances. I started from Portsmouth on a bright February morning in a single sleigh, — a chaise-body hung on runners, — expecting to reach Ipswich before sunset. For the first five or six miles there was nothing discouraging in my progress, excepting the severity of the temperature and the increase of wind. But in the last three miles before reaching the village of North Hampton I was in great peril. The snow, driven by the wind across the road, had completely concealed the broken path for the greater part of the way, and the only guide to it was the top of the posts of the fence on each side, except that, in some of the deepest places, branches of trees were placed on the two sides of the path that had been. While struggling against these obstacles, and fearing constantly the overturn of my vehicle, the stage-coach from Portsmouth passed me, driven through a field near the road. The driver hailed me with words of no encouragement, other than those of his sympathy: "I hope you 've got a good horse." After being about three hours on the road, and in a state of great suffering from the cold, I was gradually warmed by a cautious approach to the generous wood-fire, and cheered by the kindness, of my worthy friend and classmate, Jonathan French, a good man, beloved by his parishioners, and respected by all who knew him.

Henry Gardner, of Dorchester, was born August 2, 1779. He studied medicine, took his degree of Bachelor of Medicine in 1801, and received that of Doctor of Medicine in 1811. But he never practised in this profession. Inheriting an estate that placed him above the necessity of engaging in any stated business, he has watched the growth of his wealth, and has been

his own master in the employment of his time. He was a member of the Senate of Massachusetts from Norfolk for two years, beginning with May, 1825. He was also a member, from Dorchester, of the Convention, in the year 1820, for revising the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts.

It is a singular fact, that, while Gardner and the four that immediately precede him in alphabetical order in the College Catalogue are still living, the star of mortality is imprinted on the rest of the class, with intervals of one survivor, and in a single instance of two. The same facts exist in the class preceding, except that all the living, besides the five standing in succession, stand singly between the dead. According to the doctrine of chances, if it be lawful to use the term, such a circumstance might not take place for centuries.

Uriah Hagar, of Waltham, was born August 26, 1776. He was much given to disputation, though I believe he did not excel in logic and metaphysics, and I do not know in what class of philosophers he ranked. He seemed to incline to the class of sceptics, and to be imbued with an instinctive love of fallacies. After he left College, he passed through the usual course prescribed for a medical degree, which he accordingly received, and was for many years a practising physician in his native town. He died in the year 1841.

John Hamilton, of Berwick, Maine, was born November 5, 1778. He engaged in mercantile pursuits, and died in the year 1805, at Portsmouth, N. H.

John Hathorne, of Salem, was born July 16, 1775. He became an invalid and a recluse, not long after he took his degree, and died in his native town in the year 1829.

Moses Hook, of Salisbury, was born March 17, 1778. Not long after he took his degree he received a captain's commission in the army; but he returned to Salisbury before his death, which was in the year 1821, at that place.

William Hunt, of Watertown, was born July 17, 1779. In his College life he was among the most ambitious students, and cherished sanguine expectations of future eminence. But Providence otherwise decreed, and he lived but one year after the close of his academic course.

Jonathan Ingersol, of Ipswich, was born July 26, 1776, and died before the close of the year in which he received his degree.

Otis Lane, of Mansfield, was born February 12, 1770. He was ordained in the ministry at Sturbridge, December 10, 1800. He died 1842.

Perez Lincoln, of Hingham, was born January 21, 1777. He was in all respects an exemplary young man while an undergraduate, and was much esteemed for his character and acquirements. He was ordained in the ministry over the Congregational Church of Gloucester in the year 1805. He was much respected during the short period of his service in this sacred calling. He died in the year 1811.

Stephen Longfellow, of Gorham, Maine, was born June 23, 1775. He was a young man of remarkable maturity of judgment, and of quiet, affable, and gentlemanly manners and demeanor, from his first entrance within the College walls to his exit. His kindness and courtesy were so unostentatious and sincere, that they seemed to be innate. So early was his ability as a

counsellor and advocate of his younger fellow-students perceived by them and confided in, that, in cases of doubt or difficulty in matters of conduct, his advice was often sought and followed. Though he did not excel in the knowledge of the dead languages, in the use of his own, while the matter was instructive, he was fluent, correct, discriminating, and chaste. He had no enemy, and never could have lost a friend.

During his long career of professional service in Portland, he was distinguished and respected no less for the excellence of his social character, and for his judgment in matters of municipal and civil concern, than for his talents and integrity in the business affairs of his chosen vocation as a counsellor at law. It may truly be said of the conduct of his life, "His own example sanctioned all his laws." He was appointed one of the Trustees of Bowdoin College soon after its organization. Of the Hartford Convention, so much abused and so little understood, he was one, and the youngest I believe, of the members from Massachusetts. After Maine became a separate State, he represented his district in the Eighteenth Congress of the United States, namely, from 1823 to 1825. Before the meeting of his class at the expiration of the half-century from the year they graduated, his constitution had become greatly impaired, and his consequent absence was deeply regretted. He died in the year 1849.

Nathaniel Lord, of Ipswich, was born September 25, 1780. Though he was the youngest but two in the class, he was inferior to none in arithmetic and in the branches of mathematics required. We had then no blackboards on which we wrought out the examples

given by the Professor; but Lord was generally the first to present to him his slate, with the accurate result of the sum or problem; and fortunate was the neighbor within his reach in the lecture-room, who could procure his aid in coming to the same result, before the time allowed had expired. He was a youth of great modesty and integrity of character. And by his diligent preparation in his study in the exercises required, he acquitted himself well in the recitation-room. His taste extended beyond the demonstrations in mathematical science, and led him to write in verse as well as prose, and procured for him a share of reputation as a poet.

Self-moved, he first prepared an Index to the Catalogue of Graduates of Harvard College, which he annexed to it. Afterwards he proposed to enlarge the plan, so as to embrace all the Colleges in New England; but fearing that he should not be remunerated for the work, or might suffer loss, he desisted from the undertaking.

For several years he was a clerk in the Probate Office of Essex County, and for many years afterwards Register of Probate for the County; and, as might be expected, was thoroughly systematic and exact in all the duties of his office. In the year 1851 he was superseded in this office, and thus deprived of what was in a manner a mechanical part of his daily life. He felt it as a cruel privation, although he had resources enough in his intellectual and social being for passing the remainder of his life cheerfully, in reading and study and domestic duties and enjoyments. He died suddenly, October 19, 1852. In the year 1825 his eldest son was graduated at Harvard College. I mention this for the sake of adverting to the singular fact, that five members of the class who were graduated in 1825 were sons of members of the class of 1798; namely, Arthur William Austin, Jonathan Cole, Richard Sullivan Fay, Augustus Henry Fiske, and Nathaniel James Lord. They are all worthy sons of worthy sires.

Abraham Randall, of Stow, was born October 25, 1771. He was ordained as the minister of the Congregational Church in Manchester, Massachusetts, September 2, 1801. After several years that relation was dissolved, and he retired to a farm in Stow, where he spent the remainder of his days. He died March 3, 1852.

Samuel Prince Robbins was born April 20, 1778. He was the son of Rev. Chandler Robbins, minister of Plymouth, and chose his father's profession. He was ordained as the minister of the Congregational Church, Marietta, Ohio; being the first ordination of a minister of this denomination west of the Alleghany Mountains.

In the recitation-room he did not distinguish himself by his performances, but he was not idle. What were his favorite pursuits I do not remember, so far as it concerned his reading and study; but in the use of his pen he was indefatigable, recording his thoughts with equal facility, spontaneousness, and speed, in prose or rhyme, and ready to communicate the prolific results to all who chose to read or listen. Credulous he was also, and unsuspicious alike in everything; —

> "Whose nature was so far from doing harm,
> That he suspected none."

Consequently, there were not wanting those of his

mischievous fellows who ministered bountifully to his infirmity. I saw him once only after he left College, and that was at the dinner given by the Brattle Street Church to the council convened for the ordination of Mr. Palfrey. We sat nearly opposite each other at table, but after our long separation neither recognized the other until we were introduced by a common friend.

Daniel Rogers, of Gloucester, was born March 15, 1778, and engaged in mercantile business in his native town, where he died in the year 1819. In the preparatory studies for entrance to College he was one of Master Moody's pupils at the close of that veteran's service as the Preceptor of Dummer Academy. Rogers, at my request, gladly called at the President's to see the old man in his last visit to Cambridge, in 1795, the year of his death.

Joseph Salisbury, of Boston, was born February 15, 1781, being the youngest member of the class. His mind was mature above his years, and his sobriety of character and his beautiful deportment were an example worthy of the imitation of many that exceeded him in age. His virtues seemed to be intuitive, and they were so deeply rooted also in religious principle, that youthful errors, follies, and vices presented to him no temptations to deviate from them. He prepared for the Christian ministry, and preached in different places for a few years; but his physical energy was not sufficient to encourage him in the continuance of the work. His later years were occupied, I believe, in mercantile business, rather, I believe, as a silent partner of his father or elder brother, or both, and which was not so absorbing as to occasion neglect of

his theological reading and study, or the cultivation of his Christian virtues, and the manifestation of them by his deeds. He died in the year 1826.

Artemas Sawyer, of Lancaster, was born November 2, 1777. I have spoken of him before as one of the committee of the students for preparing an address to President Adams, and as one of the most distinguished scholars in the class; but of his after life I know but little. He died in 1815.

William Smith Shaw, of Haverhill, was born August 12, 1778. His intimacy at College was with a few, though a free and pleasant occasional intercourse existed between him and many. I have a kind remembrance of him as a friendly and not unfrequent companion while he was an undergraduate; and in after years circumstances drew us together in oft-recurring familiar meeting for common objects, as will appear in the sequel. He was private secretary of John Adams, President of the United States, from the time that he graduated until the close of Mr. Adams's administration, when he entered on the study of law, and was admitted to the Suffolk Bar in 1804. But in the year 1806 he was relieved from the discouragements that arise from the usual tardy success in this profession by the appointment to the office of Clerk of the District Court of Massachusetts, by the Hon. John Davis, District Judge, an office from which he derived a competent fortune, and was enabled, as he was also inclined, to give his spare time gratuitously to private benevolence and noble public undertakings.

Matthias Spalding, of Chelmsford, was born June 25, 1769. He entered College a year and six months

in advance, and was the oldest member of the class, as well as the last to join it. His physical constitution appeared to be slender, and has never been vigorous; yet he now numbers more years than any of the few living members of his class, and more than were reached by any member deceased. After he received his degree he entered upon the study of physic; but before commencing the practice he visited Europe as a companion and tutor of a young gentleman, son of a wealthy merchant, who was obliged to leave College on account of the failure of his eyes. It was a fortunate companionship for both; giving to the elder an opportunity for foreign travel so generally coveted, and to the younger the benefit to be derived from a patron of enlightened mind cultivated by liberal study, of pure heart, and of temperament genial and well disciplined by habitual exercise of the social and Christian virtues. After his return he entered upon the practice of his profession in Amherst, N. H., where he still lives, enjoying an old age cheered by the affection and respect of a generation which has reached its maturity since he ministered to the diseases and witnessed the decline and death of their fathers.

Although he was more than eleven years my senior in age, his countenance and manners so favorably attracted my notice, when he came among us as a student, that I sought his acquaintance, and enjoyed its pleasure and benefits greatly and often. It is now many years since I have seen him. Though he was not able to be with us at our gathering in 1848, yet it is not long since I heard of his well-being. And though he exceeds his fourscore years a little more than I fall short of them, I dare say, if we should be permitted to meet, we should be able to congregate many scattered memories and to enjoy them in common; for

> "Memories, when old age is come,
> Are stray ears that fleck the gloom,
> And echoes of the harvest-home."

William Stackpole, of Boston, was born December 31, 1779. He gave some attention I believe to legal studies, but if he entered on the practice of law he soon relinquished it. Consequent on the decease of his father he inherited a considerable property, which I know not whether he increased or diminished. He died in 1822.

Joseph Story, of Marblehead, was born September 18, 1779. He entered College, January, 1795, six months in advance, and was thoroughly prepared. In the Greek and Latin languages he took rank among the foremost, and was very fluent and correct in his translations. In Greek particularly, according to my impression, he was not excelled by any, and in all the studies he was eminent. The same rapidity of thought and ardor of manner in its expression, which are well known and are remembered by a multitude of his survivors to have been conspicuous during his lifetime as a counsellor at law and a judge, in occasional extemporaneous addresses and in social intercourse, were marked traits of his character during his College life. Very early he was distinguished in his profession equally as an advocate and a counsellor; and in the most important causes was pitted against the gigantic members of the brotherhood among his seniors. While he was remarkable for his courtesy to them, and to his equals in age, and to his

juniors at the bar, he was fairly matched both in regard to learning and strength against the most learned and the strongest of his elders. He was a member of the House of Representatives of the Eleventh Congress from the Essex District. At an age unexampled before or since, namely, in his thirty-fourth year, his celebrity for the requisite qualifications for the office were so marked, that he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. This was in the beginning of the year 1812, and little more than ten years after his admission to the Essex Bar. He was then Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, which office he had sustained in the preceding May session, and in the winter session then commenced, with great ability and to the full acceptance of that numerous body, amidst conflicts of party not less, perhaps more, severe than any that have existed since. But his knowledge of the rules, and strict and prompt enforcement of them, enabled him to preserve good order, and secure to every member his parliamentary rights.

Judge Story was a very efficient conservative member of the Convention for revising the Constitution of Massachusetts, in 1820. In regard to the apportionment of the Senate, he took decided ground against abolishing the property basis, which required the Legislature in assigning the number of Senators to be elected by the several districts to be governed by the proportion of the public taxes paid by the said districts. But the limitation to a number not exceeding six Senators for any one district, and the immensely increasing valuation of all the counties since the year 1820, has rendered the property basis almost inoperative; so that the apportionment corresponds sufficiently near to the population.

Amidst the arduous duties of the judicial office to which he was called, he was not deaf to the literary claims upon him as a son of Harvard College. In the year 1818 he was elected a member of the Board of Overseers, and continued in that office until 1825, when he was chosen into the Board of Corporation. In this trust he continued until his decease. It is unnecessary to add, that his activity and energy and large intellect were felt in this body, and gave him well-merited influence; for the same qualities secured to him such influence in every official relation he sustained.

In the year 1829 the reorganization of the Law School was accomplished. The Hon. Nathan Dane had offered to the Corporation of Harvard College the competent sum for a professorship in that department of the University, with the right of nominating the first incumbent. He had but one gentleman in view as a candidate for the appointment from the beginning. Mr. Dane was much attached to the College. He was a sincere and intimate friend of President Willard, who had been his minister at Beverly, and continued to be a friend to his family after the President's death. He had no children; his domestic wants were few; and he, himself learned in the law, having long devoted his time chiefly to its study and little to its practice, naturally inclined to encourage an institution for elevating the profession. I well remember, in a visit at his house, the pleasure with which, in his quiet way, he expressed to me his confidence in the future prosperity of the Law School, and added, as the crown of his wishes, that he

had obtained the consent of the candidate of his choice to be nominated for the first Professor on his foundation. His labors and sacrifices and eminent success in building up this institution are so well and widely known, that it is needless for me to speak of them here. There can be no doubt that Story shortened his life by his immense intellectual labors, professional, academical, and judicial, with the addition also of various trusts, and the demands made upon him for addresses on different occasions, civil, literary, charitable, moral, and religious, and, last and most of all, the preparation of learned works for the press. Indeed, he was conscious, as I well know from his own confession, of being overworked, before his last illness. But if

"That life is long which answers life's great end,"

his was a long, a very long life.

The vigor and activity of his mind were remarkable in his youth. These intellectual qualities were native; but they needed education; some of his juvenile writings, both in prose and verse, show this. As a poet, his excursions were premature. He mounted Pegasus too early, and plied the spur instead of the bit. But his later pieces are free from exaggerations, are fraught with passages of delicacy and deep feeling, and nowhere offend against good taste.

Intenseness reigned in all his literary and professional labors; and thus, literally speaking, did he write *calamo currente*, so that the pen seemed to catch the inspiration of the writer's thought, the expression of which it was the instrument of recording. This intenseness never forsook him while he had the power to work.

The body sympathized with the mind. His changes of countenance, his walk, his motions of outward salutation, were all quick, and such as might be interpreted to correspond to the action within. I remember meeting him a few weeks before he was confined to his house by his last illness, returning home from Dane Hall. His walk was more than usually rapid, his countenance anxious, but resolute; and after a transient smile of recognition it relapsed. I thought I could read what was passing in his mind, as if he had said, with some misgiving, "I must hasten to my study. Something there is unfinished, that *must* be accomplished."

Notwithstanding his manifold labors in his study, and the hours he spent from day to day in giving oral instruction in the Law School, he ever enjoyed his seasons of domestic endearments and playfulness, and of intercourse with his friends and visitors when he could break loose from imperative duties and engagements. In these relaxations from toil, he contributed his full share to familiar conversation. He was a great talker, and always found listening ears; for he had a full mind, capacious and well furnished, a memory prompt to render back its treasures reserved for future use, and a command of language that saved him from all hesitancy. There never appeared to me in his style of conversation any ambition for display, after the college pedantry, which soon begins to hang loosely upon young men when they mix more widely with refined society, was thrown off; but, on the contrary, a style flowing from a pure and copious fountain, a style therefore naturally diffuse. Sententious it could not be under such circumstances, except here and there in laying down a

postulate, or drawing an inference, or giving point to an argument by an ingenious antithesis.

Fresh in my memory is an incident in relation to Story that took place at my house in Cambridge on Commencement day, in the year 1813 or 1814, I believe. It was after he had taken his seat as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. A few of my class (all whom I met with) I invited to call upon me after dining in the College Hall on that day. The number who called was eight or ten; and Rev. Isaac Allen of Bolton and Judge Story of Salem were two of the number. It was a very social, unceremonious meeting; Judge Story was in good spirits, and Allen was a good monitor. Some College anecdotes and reminiscences were revived which excited considerable mirth, in regard to which the Judge was prominent in speech and good cheer. After an hour or more pleasantly spent, Story was first to withdraw, being obliged to return to Salem. No sooner was the Judge out of hearing than Allen exclaimed, "Well, it 's the same Jo Story still." The remark was true, very significant, and very complimentary; and was assented to and applauded with one accord.

Richard Sullivan, of Boston, was born July 17, 1779. He was the third son of James Sullivan, who was successively a Judge of the Supreme Court, Attorney-General, and Governor of Massachusetts, which office he held at the time of his death in the year 1808. Richard was one of the number of his class who were well prepared for pursuing the prescribed studies in the College course; but he did not, for that reason, like some others, presume so far upon his talents or acquirements as to pass superficially over the assigned tasks. As a scholar he was among the most distinguished. His character was the same as it ever since has been, spotless; his disposition, kind and benevolent; his manners were in true accord with his disposition, polished moreover without affectation or parade, and his countenance the true exposition of his heart. His intimacies perhaps were few; but his good-will had no limits. Far from being exclusive in his affections, he was and ever has been generous in his judgments of others; for he has ever possessed that *benigna rerum æstimatio*, which gives the most favorable interpretation of the words and acts of those with whom we are called to associate or are in any way connected.

Sullivan studied law, and was admitted in due course to the Suffolk Bar, but never, I believe, entered upon the practice of the profession. He has never appeared to be ambitious of public distinction, and the honors he has received were not of his seeking; for in that period of his life when, if ever, they might have been desirable, home enjoyments were those in which he most delighted, and which he had in marked perfection, heightened by rural serenity, by intellectual culture, by wide-embracing hospitality, and sanctified by the generous charities of that liberal heart which deviseth liberal things. Though enjoying all the means for luxurious indulgence, the frailty of his constitution has required temperance in all things, and abstinence in some. This, if it began with self-denial, became a habit, no less than a virtue, and made him superior to the dominion of all harmful appetites and passions. Thus he has prolonged life to an advanced age, with at

least as little physical suffering as the generality of the vigorous and robust, who are apt to presume upon their impunity from harm, and indulge their inclinations and appetites without stint, until they are suddenly obliged to resort to imperfect remedies of ills from which timely precaution would have saved them.

He was a Senator from Suffolk three years, beginning with May, 1815, and a member from Brookline of the Convention for revising the Constitution of the State, held in the year 1820. Although in these bodies he did not enter into debate with what are sometimes called "set speeches," he gave careful and conscientious attention to the transaction of business, and made important suggestions, and cited material facts and precedents, with pertinent remarks, whenever the matter in question seemed to him to demand his particular attention. He was also a member of the Governor's Council for two years, beginning in May, 1820. In the year 1821 he was elected a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, and held that office until the Board was newly constituted by an act of the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1852, which was accepted by the Corporation and Overseers of the College.

Ebenezer Thatcher, of Cambridge, was born October 9, 1778. Being of the same town, and living near each other and differing little in age, we were intimate associates. He was a young man of more than common talents and literary ambition, but somewhat self-distrustful. He acquitted himself well, however, in the performance of the tasks prescribed by the Professors and Tutors, and maintained a respectable relative rank in the class. Not long after he took his first degree, he

went to the District of Maine, where his elder brother Samuel, who preceded him, had opened an office, in the town of Warren, as an attorney at law.*

Ebenezer commenced practice in the same profession at Thomaston, or in that neighborhood. The last time and place at which I saw him was in the year 1807, in Thomaston, at the house of Mrs. Knox, the widow of General Henry Knox, to whose daughter Thatcher had been recently married. As I was looking from her magnificent dwelling-house at the wide domain around it, and expressing my pleasure at the view, Mrs. Knox uttered a few words of just eulogy upon her deceased husband, who had died within a year preceding, — on his enlarged soul, his generous heart, his gentleness of demeanor, and his expansive benevolence. It was all true.

I do not know what reputation Thatcher sustained

* Samuel Thatcher was graduated in 1793, and probably opened his office at Warren in Maine about four years afterwards. Being a young man of frank and familiar, but not offensive manners, full of good nature, fluent in speech, and having a pleasant word to say to everybody, and a joke or humorous aphorism or anecdote to utter when and where it was opportune, he soon gained a most remarkable degree of popular favor throughout his county, and was elected in his district a Representative to the Seventh Congress of the United States, beginning March 4, 1801, the commencement of Jefferson's administration. He was born July 1, 1776, and consequently was elected Representative before he had reached the legal age for this office, namely, the age of twenty-five years, which he did not reach till July 1, 1801, nearly four months after the beginning of the political year. Had a special meeting of Congress been called before the 1st of July of that year, he would not have been a legal Representative. Was he *de jure* a Representative in Congress?

as a lawyer, except what may be inferred from the fact, that, after Maine became a separate State, he was appointed a Judge of the Eastern Circuit Court of Common Pleas, which office expired several years afterwards, in consequence of some new organization of the Courts.

During several years of the latter part of his life, he resided at Mercer in the same State, and from the time of his removal thither I lost all further knowledge of him, except of the intelligence of his death in the year 1841. This event carried my thoughts back to the earliest remembrance of him, and to the intimacy and faithful friendship of several successive years.

Robert Thaxter, of Hingham, was born October 21, 1776, and entered the class at the beginning of the Sophomore year. He was the son of Dr. Thaxter of that town, and chose his father's profession. At College he was not known and estimated by his classmates in general according to his real worth. There was nothing attractive in his outward appearance and demeanor. In his countenance there was a kind of gravity, under which to a casual observer all the cheerfulness and buoyancy of youth might seem to be buried. It might be mistaken even for an indication of austerity or churlishness; but nothing could be more wide of the truth. It was the expression of thoughtfulness only. In early and later manhood, and even to old age, there dwelt in him an imperturbable kindness, not spoken in words, but acted out in all his duties, domestic, social, and professional, which they who knew him best knew how to appreciate. It was my happiness to form an intimate acquaintance with him, while an undergraduate, which occasional opportunities in several after years enabled me to cherish. He was ever the same impersonation of truth, fidelity, kindness, and benevolence; and at an age when he might have pleaded his claim to an exemption from the more hazardous duties of his profession, he fell a victim to its humanities. He died of malignant fever, in consequence of exposure to the disease in his medical practice, in February, 1852.

Gideon Latimer Thayer, of Braintree, was born September 24, 1777. He studied law and practised in his profession at Braintree. I do not remember to have seen him after he took his degree. He died in the year 1829.

Joseph Tuckerman, of Boston, was born January 18, 1778. He was a scholar of respectable standing, but his taste led him rather to the study of English literature, to rhetorical culture and exercises in declamation, than to the more severe studies of the College routine. In the year 1802 he was ordained the minister of Chelsea, then a very obscure place, and reached from Charlestown by passing over Malden Bridge, and by a circuitous road through a part of Malden. It contained with its islands about nine hundred inhabitants. In this place he devoted himself faithfully to his work for more than twenty years. He was the delegate from Chelsea to the Convention for revising the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1820, and was a strenuous advocate of what was called the *test;* namely, that, in addition to the oaths of office required of the Governor, Council, and Legislature, there should be added a declaration of belief in the Christian religion. He

was willing to prescribe it in its simplest form, "I, ——, do believe in the truth of the Christian religion."

He resigned his charge, and began his valuable services in his native town as minister to the poor in the year 1826, I believe. There had previously existed a society in Boston, one of whose objects it was "to promote any plans of a public nature for improving the condition of society."

Under this comprehensive article the condition of the poor naturally came into prominent notice, and it was readily perceived that some individual agency was required, with such aid as could be procured, in order to carry out in detail the best measures for improving their condition. It is recorded in the proceedings of the society, May 17, 1826, that "Dr. Channing made an address on the expediency and practicability of procuring for the poor of the city a preacher who should associate with himself as instructor intelligent laymen," &c.* This was the preliminary movement that led to the establishment of Dr. Tuckerman's Ministry at Large, which began towards the close of the same year.

In entering on this ministry a close and confiding intimacy was formed between him and Mr. Channing and Mr. Jonathan Phillips, which endured to the end of his earthly labors. Cheered by the heartfelt sympathy, and aided by the counsel, of these constant friends, and by the interest manifested in his labors by many others, Mr. Tuckerman pursued his work with great energy and zeal, reduced his plans of operation more and more to a regular system, and conducted them with such success as to secure to his ministry, if not all that was due to it, a continually growing public favor. His semiannual reports attracted attention not only in Boston, but in remote places, and at a time not very distant from the commencement of his local labors his fame reached beyond his native land. Nothing sectarian mingled with his Christian function of charity. Like the Master whom he served, and whose miracles were works of compassion, of healing the diseased, restoring the impotent to strength, the blind to sight, and casting out the demons of torture, Tuckerman, according to the measure of human means, ministered to all the infirmities of body and mind of those who had none to help. The abandoned he sought to reclaim by prayer and admonition.

In fine, he aimed to convince all that they had souls to be saved, and to help them in the search to find their souls, whether hidden by ignorance, stupidity, drunkenness, licentiousness, or any or all the viler lusts and passions which bring midnight darkness over the spirit and eclipse all inward light. To the unfortunate, the disappointed, the forsaken, or desponding, he gave consolation and encouragement, procured succor for such of them as were helpless, and employment for such as were able, and could be made willing, to help themselves. All the objects of his care were guarded as far as might be from abusing the charities of his mission, not only by motives of self-interest, but, if possible, by the higher and more binding restraints of morality and religion. With this unostentatious and truly Christian eleemosynary system the name of Tuckerman will be deservedly associated

* Memoir of William Ellery Channing.

and perpetuated, not only in his own country, but in foreign civilized lands. His name and deeds have a standing memorial in Liverpool, where there is a society bearing his name. In the beginning of the year 1853 the Rev. Francis Bishop delivered a series of familiar lectures before the "Tuckerman Institute" in Liverpool, giving an account of his visit to the United States.

Such were life's last labors of Joseph Tuckerman. For his was not

> "The flight of threescore years,
> That drives eternity from human thought,
> And smothers souls immortal in the dust."

JOHN VARNUM, of Dracut, was born June 25, 1778. He was an overgrown youth, not very well prepared for entering upon the College studies; but he made constant improvement, and gained much in the estimation of his classmates, in the course of his college life. He was an agreeable companion, and left the University with a good reputation in regard both to character and acquirements. He was a member of the Massachusetts Senate for the County of Essex in the legislative year beginning in May, 1812, and a member of the House of Representatives in Congress from the district in which he resided, for six successive years, beginning with the Nineteenth Congress, in the year 1825. He removed to Lowell some time after his term of public service expired, and died in the year 1836.

THOMAS WELSH, of Boston, was born January 8, 1779. I have spoken of him before as one who at College, in his Senior year, was a member of the committee

to prepare an address to John Adams, President of the United States, in the year 1798, and as a lawyer in the city of Boston. He was a member of the Senate of Massachusetts for two years, beginning May, 1827. He died in the year 1831.

SIDNEY WILLARD was born September 19, 1780. Of the outlines of his juvenile history I have already spoken.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, of Warrington, North Carolina, was born April 15, 1776. He was the only member of the class from a slave State, and thought no better of the institution of slavery than did his fellows. I remember that, on one occasion, when it fell to him and to me to discuss on opposite sides some topic in the weekly meeting of the Society of the Phi Beta Kappa, we took the question, I believe of his choosing, whether slavery at the South or New England rum at the North were the greater evil. I was reminded of this by the record of the Secretary, a year since, when looking over it for another purpose.

As Williams was a stranger to us all when he first came among us, and sat next to me in the recitation-room, I immediately made his acquaintance, which became more and more intimate, and our friendship more and more confirmed, in consequence of his spending his vacations in Cambridge; so that it was his home for four years. He was an agreeable visitor at my father's house, and he bade us farewell at the close of his college career, which we may now consider, though he still lives, to be final to the few survivors of the family. He could teach me many things, but there was one kind of winter exercise and amusement of which he was ig-

norant and became a learner, namely, skating. I can bear witness to the perseverance with which he pursued this exercise in company with me, and the intrepity with which he braved our Boreal blasts. Indeed, it has seemed to me remarkable as a general fact, that the boys and young men who come hither from the South appear to be more fearless of the severest of our winter weather, and take fewer precautions to guard against it, than the youth of New England. From the circumstances I have mentioned I became very intimate with my Southern friend, and used sometimes to vex him a little with boyish pranks. But the hardest words he ever said to me were, "If you don't be quiet, I 'll knock you"; but he never did.

Williams was a faithful and ambitious student. He aimed at distinction, and acquired it. After the completion of his literary course, and the honors he obtained, there seemed to come over him a prestige of military distinction. He donned his military beaver, and put on a soldierly air; but I believe the illusion soon passed off. He returned to his home, became a lawyer, and practised in that profession for some years in North Carolina, but changed his residence to a large landed estate, of which he became possessed, about four miles from the then village of Nashville.

I heard nothing of him until the year 1836, when I received a letter from him dated "near Nashville," in which he recommended to my notice a young friend of his who entered the Law School of Harvard University. "He will be remote from his relatives," said Williams, "and may need some counsel; and I know of no one to whom I could more properly or cheerfully recommend

him than to one by whose side I sat for four years at recitations, lectures, and prayers, in uninterrupted harmony. I take the more pleasure in introducing him to you from the belief that he is worthy, and from the recollection of the kindness I received from your venerated father." These tokens of remembrance, after thirty-eight years agone, were grateful to me, and by me reciprocated on the return of the gentleman whom he introduced to the place whence he came. About the beginning of the spring of 1853, a very estimable friend and classmate * paid him a visit, and at my request gave me an account of it in writing, which, in some of its circumstances that I here introduce, may be interesting to every reader of these brief memorials.

This friend was travelling in the West, and says:—

"In Cincinnati I met with two gentlemen from Nashville, who were acquainted with Williams, and who wished me to accompany them on their return, which I did, passing down the Ohio, about five hundred miles to the mouth of Cumberland River, and thence two hundred miles to Nashville (a neighborly call even for a backwoodsman). On my arrival at Nashville I sent a note to Williams, informing him of the place at which I stopped, and he came in his carriage and took me to his home, about four miles from the city. One of the gentlemen whom I accompanied to Nashville interested himself very much in our interview, and introduced him to me by another name, to see whether I should recognize him, which I did not, supposing him to be a gentleman of the city; but soon suspecting the

* Humphrey Devereux, Esq., of Salem.

plan, I eyed him more sharply, and, listening to his quick, decided manner of speaking, and catching the corresponding expression of his eye, I recognized our old friend Williams. He could catch no trace of my early looks, and could be hardly made to believe in my identity. But after a while he made up his mind that I was no impostor, and we talked, and looked, and felt as we did more than fifty years ago. Until we met, he had seen no college classmate since he took his degree.

"In addition to the care of his large estate he presides over an important county or municipal court, and is interested and takes a part in the public institutions, and is a highly respected and influential citizen. I always thought he would take part in public life; but he would not condescend to the practices necessary to win public favor, and became indifferent to it."

JONATHAN YOUNG, of Barrington, New Hampshire, was born September 4, 1773. He had been brought up as a farmer, and after he received his degree soon resorted, I believe, to the same occupation. I heard of him not many years after we separated at a place not very far from Kennebunk. He died at Acton, in the State of Maine.

CHAPTER XXI.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Reflections on the Dispersion of the Class. — Variety of Occupations and Changes of the same. — Concerted Meeting of the Survivors of my Class in the Year 1848. — Reflections on its Mortality. — My Attendance on my Father during his Illness, and gradual Recovery, after Commencement, 1798. — Short Excursions with him in Visits to his Old Friends.

SUCH are the few memorials of the dead and of the living of the class graduated in 1798 which I have deemed worthy to be recorded, and which might be greatly enlarged in a suitable place. They relate chiefly to things outward, and contain few judgments formed from outward facts and appearances concerning the world within. In regard to this, mankind are, to a greater degree than they are apt to think themselves, strangers to each other. "The heart knoweth its own bitterness, and a stranger doth not intermeddle with its joy." Thoughtfulness may be mistaken for coldness, and gravity for sternness or melancholy. Cheerfulness or gayety in the social circle may be ascribed to natural temperament, when in moments of forgetfulness it steals only a fleeting hour from days of anxiety or revery. Adverse events and the various trials of life are apt to come upon us unforeseen, and when unprepared to

meet them. If wisdom could anticipate them without gloomy foreboding, the surprise would not be overpowering; for one of the most sure foundations of a tranquil and happy life is the conviction that manifold trials must be met and encountered. This conviction, which should seem to be easily acquired by a person of ordinary foresight, observation, and reflection, and thus to become habitual, would take much from the bitterness of these trials, and prompt the resolution

"to pay life's tax
Without one rebel murmur."

But youth is sanguine, and bears disappointment and failure with a heavy heart; and wisdom comes too late to fulfil at once its highest office. It has to struggle against discouragement before it can inspire energy, and to teach the sufferer how to throw off a heavy burden, before he can receive strength to grapple with the ills that flesh is heir to.

On the whole, Providence has dealt kindly with the forty-eight graduates of 1798.* They have passed

* I here insert a few items which will be interesting to some readers. The average age of the class at the time of their entering College was seventeen years and eight months, very nearly. Nineteen only were under the age of sixteen; twenty-nine were from the age of sixteen to twenty-five years, and the average age of these was twenty-three years and three months. The oldest member of the class, at his entrance, was twenty-five years and three weeks old, and the youngest thirteen years and five months. Thirty-four of the graduates had their future permanent abode (with one or two exceptions of change) in Massachusetts proper; six in Maine; four in New Hampshire; one in Connecticut; two in Ohio; and one in Tennessee. Of the number deceased, nine

through life (a small number still surviving, lingering a little longer to wait its good or ill) with fewer vicissitudes than many of the classes nearly contemporaneous. There have been no idle wanderers, and if any victims of sensual excess, no vagrant and loathsome ones.

Of our number thirty-seven entered upon studies for professional life; namely, eighteen for that of Law, twelve of Divinity, and seven of Medicine. Five engaged in mercantile business, one became a permanent teacher of youth, one an officer in the army, one a farmer, one a clerk in a Probate Office, and afterward Register of Probate in the same county. Such was the variety of pursuits begun, but followed by many changes in the lapse of time and change of circumstances. Two of our number, not included in this distribution, died during the first year after our separation.

Except the assembling of a majority of the class for receiving the degree of Master of Arts at Commencement in the first year of the present century, which was only a transient meeting for the ceremonies of the occasion, there was only a small minority of the class present from year to year for half a century. The annual meetings that have in later times been held by many classes of graduates were not then instituted. There were only the casual greetings of the few that spied each other in the crowd, while some escaped each

had lived beyond threescore years and ten; the oldest of whom had entered his eighty-first year. The eleven who survive are between the ages of seventy-four and eighty-five.

other's notice who would fain have renewed their hearty fellowship.

Of the manner in which the surviving graduates of the class of 1798 were brought together, I have already spoken; and then, August, 1848, of the whole number of our corps baccalaureate, namely, forty-eight, eighteen were living. Fifteen appeared and answered to their names; three were not on the ground, being detained at home by bodily infirmity and distance, namely, Longfellow, Spalding, and Williams; and one of the fifteen present, Ralph French, by reason of illness, was obliged to leave us before the procession was formed for attendance at the public literary exercises. There we stood, near the vestibule of Gore Hall, in a group by ourselves, bald, grizzled, and furrowed, peering into each other's faces to make sure of recognition. This being accomplished by mutual aid, we joined the procession, which was soon formed. It is hardly necessary to add, that few of our seniors in College standing were before us in the procession.

Some of our number had not seen each other during the fifty years past; several for very many years, leaving a period between youth or early manhood and advanced age, in which the lineaments of early years are so nearly effaced or obliterated that they cannot be traced. Thus we were left in some instances to guess, not from the well known to the doubtful, but from the known to the unknown. And when we aroused from a momentary reverie, and were assured that this and that man were the same men that we knew by the same names fifty years ago, it seemed like the morning dream which mingles the present with the past, the near with the remote, annihilating both time and distance.

After the literary exercises, we joined the procession to the dining-hall, and all sat at the same table. At the Commencement dinners the sitting is not of long duration; and we retired from table soon after the singing of the psalm, which, with some variation in the version, has been sung on the same occasion from time immemorial. Thence we went, agreeably to previous invitation, to the house of our classmate, the Hon. Samuel P. P. Fay, whose doors and rooms were open and free of access to us through the day. At this time we were all present, recalling early reminiscences, regretting the absence of three living brethren, and not unmindful of the silent dead, speaking to us only by the memory of what they were and what they had done. Of the eighteen then living, seven have since passed through the same valley. Of our own mortality we had indeed enough to remind us in the history of the past, by deaths one after another among our College associates, and in our domestic circle. Fifty years before, when we quitted the classic ground, if we had looked back to the list of graduates who had preceded us, we could readily have found warning that the time of our earthly sojourn might be short. The catalogue of College graduates is a perpetual *memento mori*. If we had examined the list of those who were ten years before us, we should have found that one tenth had died in those ten years. Of the class of 1798, they who lived ten years could count the same proportion of deaths. In the class of 1797 one fifth, wanting a small

fraction, died within ten years.* We had only to look still farther back to find the stars clustering more closely, indicating the rapid flight of the spirits of short-lived tenants of earth to another sphere. Of our whole number eleven only remain behind, blest with as much bodily and mental health as is common with men bordering on fourscore years. Together with those who have been taken away before us, we have, for the most part, whatever have been our mistakes and errors, been favored in our lot, and been in a good measure satisfied with it. Self-disciplined in a good degree, and not extravagant in our expectations of the future, none have fallen into imbecility or despondency.

> "A mind whose rest
> Is where it ought to be, in self-restraint,
> In circumspection and simplicity,
> Falls rarely in entire discomfiture
> Below its aim, or meets with, from without,
> A treachery that foils it or defeats."

The memorials of my classmates from the time they entered College until the meeting of the survivers in 1848, slender as they are, have cost me more time and pains, particularly in regard to facts, than the amount or value of them, perhaps, would seem to require. To the dead, so far as I have said anything of their characters and deeds, I have striven to be just, and at the same time to avoid exaggeration. Any involuntary errors in

* From an examination of the graduates of forty-two years, beginning with the present century, it appeared that one ninth part, very nearly, taking the aggregate, died within ten years after graduation.

facts or opinions, if such shall be found, will occasion me regret proportionate to their importance. Of the living I have aimed to speak with due reserve. It is so common now-a-days for writers to describe their contemporaries with considerable freedom, that I could not leave them altogether unnoticed. Indeed, to a total suppression of my feelings of respect and affection for them I could not bring myself to submit. But I have endeavored to speak with the delicacy that should mark the last words of a mortal man; and to them I hereby humbly dedicate the simple records I have penned which pertain to the outlines of the history of our class as College associates and friends, praying them to appreciate my good intentions, and to pardon my defects in executing them.

From the description of these wanderings among my forty-seven College classmates, and of their occupations in life, most of whom I have left at their final resting-place on earth, I now return to speak of my paternal and academic home, and of my own life's journey, in which it may be there will occur some things noteworthy. Before the close of my College life as undergraduate, I had made up my mind to study theology; and accordingly, after Commencement, entered my name as a student in divinity and resident graduate. But during the College vacation and for several weeks afterwards, in consequence of the illness of my father, which we feared would be fatal, my anxiety was such, and my necessary attention to him and to his affairs so nearly engrossed my time, that no part of it was devoted to a regular course of study. After he obtained relief from his acute pains, he did not appear to suffer from

any pain except that of weariness and exhaustion. For nourishment he took nothing but liquids for weeks; and this was chiefly wine-whey. During the month of August the heat was for most of the time extreme. A great part of the day he sat up; but he seemed to take little notice of anything, seldom speaking and never complaining. In short, he seemed to be in a state of apathy entirely devoid of any rallying power. It was while he was in this state that his old friend, Dr. Hitchcock, of Providence, came to visit him, about the close of August or the beginning of September. Soon the Rev. Doctor began to act the physician; and learning by what slender and insipid nourishment he had been kept alive, he proposed some change; for instance, a very thin shaving of dried beef or ham or neat's tongue. The patient had never during his illness expressed any wish for animal food, and whether he required urging or otherwise to try this experiment I cannot say; but he tried it without disgust; and at the same time the cheerful face of his old friend, and the anecdotes and reminiscences of former times with which he abounded, and drew from his storehouse, brightened the eyes of the sick man, brought smiles into his countenance, and gave play to his lungs; so that from that hour may be dated his convalescence.

As soon as my father recovered so far as to enable him with much assistance to get into a carriage, I accompanied him almost daily in a short ride; and as the autumn advanced and his strength increased, he was able to make short excursions in different directions, and to visit some of his old friends, clerical and lay.

Of the latter number, Samuel Dexter, Esq., a native

of Dedham, but then living at Weston, was one. In his excursion to Weston, and in his visits elsewhere during the season, I was my father's companion. A day spent at Mr. Dexter's was evidently one of mutual gratification to the visitor and the visited. Much of their conversation related to matters of past time. It was a feast to them, and to me entertaining and instructive. Mr. Dexter was prominent in our early Revolutionary history, and had at the time of our visit reached the seventy-third year of his age, venerable in his personal appearance, and for his character and learning and former services as well. Of the early patriots of the American Revolution he was one of the marked men for royal rebuke. Chosen in 1773 a member of the Governor's Council, of which he had been a member in previous years, he, together with James Bowdoin and Professor Winthrop, who were also chosen the same year to serve in that office, were negatived by the Governor, in conformity to a special mandate of the king's ministers.

Mr. Dexter was a member of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts during the whole period of that provisional government; namely, from the beginning of the first Congress, October 7, 1774, until the close of the third, July 19, 1775, and was constant in attendance.*

* President Quincy, in his History of Harvard University, after a grateful notice of Mr. Dexter as a benefactor of the seminary, thus adverts to a portion of his political life: "Mr. Dexter was chosen to the first Provincial Congress, and regarded as one of its most eminent members. In October [20th] he was chairman of a committee of thirteen delegates appointed to consider what was necessary to be [now] done for the defence and safety of the Province; and in the same month [October 28] he was

He was chairman of the committee chosen "to consider what is necessary to be now done for the defence and safety of the Province." This committee was chosen October 20, and reported October 22. The report

chosen Receiver-General, which office he declined. But *soon after*, differing in opinion from a majority of the Congress as to the expediency of raising an army before the means of feeding, clothing, and arming it were in readiness, in the jealousies natural to the excited state of the times, a momentary shade was cast over his patriotism. 'Haughty integrity,' says his biographer, 'cannot endure suspicion. He retired from public employment, feeble from disease, exhausted with fatigue, indignant for himself, and trembling for his country.'"

The reader would naturally infer from this account, that Mr. Dexter retired from political life in disgust, at the close of the first Provincial Congress, if not in the midst of it. But a recurrence to the Journal shows that he was in active service during the sittings of each of the three successive assemblies called by that name, and that he retained, so far as it appears, the full confidence of the members, and performed his full share of duty in carrying out its important measures. The following summary is taken from the Journal. The report of the Committee, "to consider what should be now done," &c. was accepted, with amendments, after considerable delay, on the 26th of October, 1774, in the form of a preamble and resolution. On the next day he was chosen, with Hawley, Hancock, Gerry, Heath, Foster, and James Warren, a committee "to prepare in the recess of this Congress a well-digested plan for the regulating and disciplining the militia, placing them in every respect on such a permanent footing as shall render them effectual for the preservation and defence of the good people of the Province." On the day following he was chosen Receiver-General, and, for reasons by him offered for declining the office, he was excused. It was probably in the committee appointed to sit in the recess, consisting of seven members, that diversity of opinion and difficulties of coming to any result occurred; for it does not appear that they made any report. But there is no evidence in the Journal of any

was taken up at several different times, was twice recommitted, and passed, with several amendments, on the 26th of the same month. The debate and proceedings were secret, and ordered to be kept secret.

breach; nor, in the proceedings of Congress, of any want of confidence in Mr. Dexter, or any reluctance on his part to perform any duties assigned to him; for in the same Congress he was on the committee to which was referred the Declaration of Rights and State of Grievances, and the plan of association adopted by the Continental Congress, for carrying into effect the non-consumption, non-importation, and non-exportation agreements; and on the committee for devising means to maintain a correspondence with Montreal and Quebec. In the Second Congress he was of the Committee on the State of the Province, and chairman of a committee of three "to prepare a draft of a letter of instructions to the delegates of [this] Congress, now in Connecticut, with respect to the arrival at this Colony of two gentlemen from the Assembly of Connecticut with an address to General Gage and a commission to treat with him respecting a cessation of hostilities." The letter reported by the committee, and accepted *unanimously* by Congress, is brief, explicit, and solemn. It deprecates earnestly any proposals for negotiation made to Parliament, to the ministry, or to their agents here, by a single Colony, as "tending to destroy the happy union" existing between them. "Nothing," it said, "but an immediate recourse to arms, and a steady and persevering exertion in military operations, can possibly prevent our destruction, and recourse to any other method would at best be nugatory and vain. So fearful are we of any measures taking place, whereby the common cause may be endangered, that we have *unanimously* concluded it necessary to suggest our fears respecting the effects of this embassy from Connecticut." The chairman of the Committee was doubtless the writer of the letter which thus anticipated, as it received entire unanimity of approbation in Congress, and which at the same time shows his hearty co-operation in the energetic measures pursued by that body.

Mr. Dexter was a wise man no less in private than in public life. He was one of that small number of wise men who know when they have enough of this world's riches. Having been in early life successful in mercantile business, at the age of thirty-six years he retired from his counting-room to his study, from the toils of accumulating money to a philosophical use of it in the pleasures of domestic life and literary culture, and converse with intellectual men. He was also one of that smaller number of wise men, who, when the suitable period arrives, distribute their superfluous wealth among their deserving children. This he did; and still had enough remaining before his death, to show that his love spread far wider and for laudable ends. In his last will he bequeathed to Harvard College five thousand dollars for the establishment of a lectureship for "the increase of that most useful branch of learning, a critical knowledge of the Holy Scriptures." Theology was Mr. Dexter's favorite study; and I well remember that his minister in Weston, Rev. Samuel Kendal, D.D., a man of strong intellect and strong nerves too, while he spoke of Mr. Dexter with the highest respect as a friend and a man of extensive theological reading and study, acknowledged a feeling of self-distrust that sometimes rose within him, when his venerable parishioner was one of the listeners in the sanctuary.

In the same autumn, I went with my father on his visits to several clergymen among his seniors in College standing. Of this number was Phillips Payson of Chelsea. He was received by Mr. Payson in the most friendly and cordial manner. The pleasure of their interview was indeed marred by the occasional

entrance of Mrs. Payson, whose mind was clouded by a melancholy insanity, manifesting itself not in reserved or silent gloom, but in the desponding utterance of self-accusation, under the painful delusion that she had been one of the destroyers of mankind; a mysterious delusion, beyond the reasoning power of the wisest philosopher to remove. But in Mr. Payson's treatment of her, there was a lesson to be remembered. While he could not fail to address to her a few soothing words, in tender tones, however unavailing, he showed the power of Christian philosophy by preserving his equanimity, and paying homage due to the laws of social obligation in cheerful converse with his friends. He had so disciplined his reason, his conscience, and his affections, as to leave no duty unperformed, whether of his ministerial office or of good neighborhood, of benevolence or of hospitality. The mystery, one of the greatest, — a mind darkened and distressed, — a being created in the image of God ceasing to be a moral agent in the midst of friends and equals, — was, as he well knew, too great and too difficult to be solved by reason or philosophy.

Mr. Payson was one of the members of the Academy of Arts and Sciences by the act of incorporation. In addition to the time faithfully devoted to his professional duties, he gave a portion of it to physical science and classical reading, and was one of the most distinguished ministers of his time. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him in the year 1800, the year before his decease. This degree was more sparingly given at that period than in times more recent, and was generally reserved as an honor to be

enjoyed in declining years; so that it had come to be called sometimes the "death-warrant" of the recipient. There was no reason, however, to apprehend that the death of Dr. Payson at that time, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, was so soon to follow this academical distinction. He died January 11, 1801.

There were living in 1798 two venerable clergymen, Daniel Shute, minister of the South Parish in Hingham, a graduate of Harvard College of 1743, and David Barnes, of Scituate, a graduate of 1752. In the same autumn before mentioned, I accompanied my father in a visit to these venerable men. Dr. Shute had relinquished his ministerial and parochial labors a few months before that time, after fifty-two years' service, in consequence of his loss of sight. We found him totally blind, but otherwise well, resigned, and cheerful. Mr. Barnes, with whom we spent the following night, was so deaf that it was impossible for a visitor to maintain a share in conversation with him approaching to anything like equality. Neither of these aged men seemed disposed to magnify the loss he had suffered, or to think his own the greater privation. Both were men of philosophical minds, men of books and men of conversation, with mental faculties still bright. Dr. Shute, during his long life, was in high estimation both as a minister of the Gospel and a citizen. He was a member of the Convention that formed the Constitution of Massachusetts, and of the Convention of Massachusetts which adopted the Constitution of the United States. In the year 1790 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him. The same degree had been conferred on Ebenezer Gay, the minister of the old parish

in Hingham, in the year 1785, in the eighty-ninth year of his age and the sixty-seventh year of his ministry. He died March 18, 1787.*

Dr. Shute was one of those ministers whom I used to hear spoken of in my youth as wise for both worlds; meaning thereby, that, while they had supreme regard for those durable riches which neither moth nor rust can corrupt, nor thieves can steal, they duly appreciated the blessing of earthly possessions. During several of the first years of his ministry, and this carries us back more than a hundred years, he reserved from his salary of sixty or ninety pounds, or whatever it might have been, a portion for the purchase of land in the central part of the parochial village. By such acquisitions, in a succession of years he secured a property which re-

* The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred for the first time, in the history of College honors, on Increase Mather, in the eighth year of his presidency, the year 1692. After this time, till the presidency of Joseph Willard, three persons only who were graduates of Harvard received this honor; namely, Nathaniel Appleton, in the year 1771, Samuel Mather and Samuel Locke, in 1773, a few months before Locke retired from the office of President, which he had held for less than four years. During the long interval between the presidency of Increase Mather and that of President Willard, not less than eighteen clergymen, graduates of Harvard College, received this degree from other Colleges or Universities; namely, two from Glasgow, four from Edinburgh, three from Aberdeen, three from Oxford, one from Yale, three from Dartmouth, and two from New Jersey. During President Willard's period of office, including twenty-three Commencements, fifteen graduates of Harvard College received this degree; namely, four in 1785, two in 1787, one in 1790, three in 1792; and one in each of the years 1793, 1794, 1799, 1800, and 1804.

lieved him from anxiety for the future, and from those increasing cares which interfere with the duties of the Christian minister.

Mr. Barnes, as I have said, was deaf, very deaf; but, fortunately for his visitors, he was a great talker, a natural talker, a man of extensive reading, and well informed upon matters of then present interest. Started upon any topics of the day, or of common interest, it was manifest at once that he had great resources for conversation, acquired from reading and reflection, enlivened by a vivid imagination, and amusing parentheses, and occasional singularities in modes of description and phraseology, all so fluent and natural, that he seemed evidently talking, not from the necessity of the case, nor for display, but from the outpouring of a full mind and the overflowing of social feeling. When he rose from his seat, as he did, with very slight if any notice, to offer up his evening family prayer, his language and tones of voice were such, and of so familiar character, that I was taken wholly with surprise by the abruptness of his manner, and the dramatic modes of his address to Deity. Probably he could not judge very well whither his voice was wandering; but its intonations were the very opposite of the dull monotony commonly found in the speaking of those who suffer from the like infirmity. It was told to me by some one, that, a member of his congregation having said to him that he was not always heard in announcing from the pulpit the hymn to be sung, he acquired the habit of announcing it in a sharp tone of voice, so shrill and so loud that to a stranger it was absolutely ludicrous. At funerals, it was said of him, that his prayers, far beyond

what is common on such occasions, (namely, simple allusions to public and private virtues,) frequently contained a biographical notice of the deceased of considerable extent, mingled with the utterance of devotional thoughts pertinent to the occasion.

CHAPTER XXII.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Journey in which I accompanied my Father after Commencement, 1799. — Springfield. — Northampton. — Williamstown, and the College there. — Bennington. — Pittsfield. — Lebanon. — Albany. — John Jay. — Stephen Van Rensselaer. — Eliphalet Nott. — Schenectady. — Jonathan Edwards. — Henry Glen. — Ballston Springs. — Stillwater. — Saratoga. — Battle-Ground. — Whitehall. — Ticonderoga. — Lake George. — Burlington, Vt. — Return Home. — Vergennes. — Rutland. — Samuel Williams, late Professor in Harvard College. — Windsor. — Home.

PRESIDENT WILLARD'S health, though gradually improved during the autumn of 1798 and the following winter, was far from being confirmed. Not unfrequently he was compelled for a few days in succession to excuse himself from the stated business of his office. At Commencement, 1799, he was able to preside, soon after which, at the expense of the Corporation of the College, he took what at that time was considered a long journey, in which I was his companion and servant. He procured a saddle-horse, in addition to his own horse and chaise, intending, as his health and comfort should permit, to try the saddle instead of the chaise. But his black broadcloth garments, and large, full-

bottomed wig, and beaver cocked-hat, under a summer's sun, soon gave warning that the shade of the carriage was desirable; and it was not long before I had sole possession of the saddle-horse, and became so habituated to the seat, and so familiar with the ways of the beast, that we might have been mistaken for a centaur. In three or four days we reached Springfield, where we stopped a few hours. It was then a flourishing town containing nearly three thousand inhabitants, and a place of considerable inland trade. Thence we went to Northampton, and there passed Sunday. We then deviated from our course to Ballston Springs, which was our ultimate destination, and went to Williamstown, and attended the fifth Commencement of the College, of which Rev. Ebenezer Fitch was President. Mr. Warren Dutton, who was then one of the Tutors, kindly accompanied us to Bennington and to the battle-ground on which General Stark gained his enduring military glory. Returning thence, we directed our course to Northampton, and thence through Dalton to Pittsfield, where we spent a day, and visited the Springs and the Shakers at Lebanon; but we found nothing pleasing at the Shaker Village, except the neatness within and without, and the studied symmetrical order and arrangements in both. My father held a short conversation with one of the heads of the institution, who, judging from this interview, was far more distinguished for vulgarity and coarseness, than for intelligence and decency of manner.

From Pittsfield we proceeded to Albany, continuing our journey over the mountainous turnpike, bordered by much beautiful and much sublime scenery, and many to me novel and inexplicable freaks of nature. Albany, with

its suburbs, then contained between six and seven thousand inhabitants, — the oldest town, except Jamestown, in the United States. The old Dutch church, which was then standing in the broad street or square, nearly opposite the hotel at which we stopped, with its peculiar architecture, and diamond-shaped, colored glazing, and the dwelling-houses in some parts of the city, looked as though Hudson, when he sailed up the noble river in the year 1609, so far as this beautiful site, might have found them already built. Very ancient they were, but to my young eyes the sight was very novel.

It was on a Saturday afternoon that we reached Albany, in season to see something of the city. On Sunday we attended public worship at the Presbyterian church, of which the Rev. Eliphalet Nott, afterward President of Union College, Schenectady, was then the minister. It was before he had gained that celebrity for eloquence which he afterwards reached that I listened to his sermons, which, however, were interesting in regard both to their matter and the delivery. According to the prevailing practice at that time of the ministers in the Presbyterian Church in the Middle States, his sermons were doubtless fully written, and delivered from memory. In the year 1804 he delivered a discourse on the death of General Hamilton, who was fatally wounded in a duel by his antagonist, Colonel Burr, Vice-President of the United States, which was printed and received with great favor by the public, as a very successful and useful effort on a difficult and trying occasion.*

* In the same year, 1804, he was elected President of Union College, Schenectady, and entered on the duties of the office; so that in the year just passed occurred the fiftieth anniversary of his presidency. There was a great attendance of the Alumni of the College on the occasion, July 25, 1854, Commencement day. Many years before, there had been suspicious fears, in some quarters, of his having used the funds of the College in speculations for his own benefit, claiming them as his own. To these suspicions and consequent unfavorable reports he gave no heed, until the Legislature of the State of New York appointed a committee of inquiry in relation to the charges. He seems to have been supreme not only in the Faculty, but — I know not by what sort of government of the College — in the fisc also; a junction of offices very remarkable, though by the result it would seem to have been intended for good. It was found that what he had been suspected of doing in order to enrich himself, he had done to fill the almost empty coffers of the College. "A thorough and laborious investigation was made by the committee," and it was found that the President, by his skill and foresight, had so managed the funds of the College, as to hide the little nucleus with a covering of a million of dollars. "More than half of this," said one of his eulogists, "was in strict equity his own private property, it having accrued in consequence of *individual risks and responsibilities which he had incurred.*" This opens a very grave question. The grand result, however, precluded an inopportune curiosity about the means of coming thereat, and, on the contrary, gave great glory to the occasion which brought together such a concourse of the Alumni. When assembled, the addresses of distinguished men, the former pupils of Dr. Nott, and his own address in taking leave of them, thus mingling with his their reflections on the past, their sympathies in the present, and their sanguine expectations of the future of their Alma Mater, gave to the meeting an interest long to be remembered.

In the year of which I am speaking, John Jay was Governor of the State of New York, and resided in Albany; and Stephen Van Rensselaer was Lieutenant-Governor. Rensselaer was a graduate of Harvard

College in the year 1782, a member, therefore, of the first class which was graduated under Mr. Willard's presidency. He was commonly called, in Albany and the neighborhood, the Patroon, being the proprietor of an immense landed estate occupied by a very numerous tenantry. On Monday morning we rode to his house, distant about a mile from the centre of the city. We found him at home, and were received in a kind and courteous manner. There was no one in the room which we entered besides himself and a young lady, his niece, who had evidently been enjoying a girlish frolic with the lord of the mansion and the manor, from which her efforts to recover were but partially successful; and ever and anon the fit returned, as loath to quit its hold, — so far as to prove a little trial to his forbearance, and to occasion a little embarrassment to his visitors. On the whole, however, we passed a pleasant hour, and returned to dine with the Governor according to a previous engagement.

My father and I were, I believe, his only guests; but however that may have been, it was a day to be remembered. We were received with no other ceremonies than such as emanate from a well-bred gentleman uncorrupted by station or fame, without ostentation on the one hand, or any apparent feeling of condescension on the other; and were at once converted, from stranger guests, into the number of accepted and willing friends. My father had an exalted opinion of Mr. Jay's personal character and public services; and I had learned to appreciate them also according to my ability. But to see and hear the man who had been among the earliest, the foremost, the firmest, and the

ablest in furthering the Revolutionary measures of his country, quitting the forum for the Congress of Deputies of the Colonies in the thirtieth year of his age, before the people of New York had become generally quickened in their zeal in favor of the growing controversy with Great Britain; placed on some of the most important committees, particularly that to which was assigned the preparation of "An Address to the People of Great Britain," of which he was the author, by the choice of the committee, and which, among other documents from his pen, formed a prominent part of the state papers on which Chatham pronounced his generous, sincere, and hearty eulogy; — to hold familiar conversation with that unflinching patriot and diplomatist, who would not negotiate with ministers of the mother country except upon terms of equality, with the recognition of American independence as a preliminary step; * — to see a man for the first time who had been more used in the civil and political affairs of his country than almost any other, and *more abused* in after times than *any* other, when by his persevering efforts, aided by his weight of character, he had succeeded in negotiating a treaty to prolong the peace and advance the commercial prosperity of his country; — to see and hear such a man in familiar domestic inter-

* In regard to this negotiation, John Adams (who then and ever after had the fullest confidence in Mr. Jay), when he joined Franklin and Jay in Paris, pending the discussions of a treaty of peace with Great Britain, said, in a letter to Francis Dana, then minister in Russia (afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts), "Jay is all you would wish him, — *wise and firm.*" This, though very laconic, is also very comprehensive.

course, and call to mind all his magnanimity and forbearance, his persistency in everything right and honorable, and disdain of everything wrong and mean (the opportunity also coming to us in the casual occurrence of hospitality), afforded a high gratification that could not fail to be treasured up in memory.

My father was in no respect disappointed in Mr. Jay's personal appearance, manners, and conversation, which, simple and natural, added to his well-known moral worth, and to his eminence as a patriot, a statesman, a jurist, and a diplomatist, constitute a harmony of private and public excellence which will embalm his memory so long as history shall preserve the true records of the characters and deeds of our early and leading patriots.

After spending a day in Troy and Lansingburg, places then beginning to show signs of considerable growth, we proceeded on our way to Ballston Springs, stopping a few hours at Schenectady, a place, fifty-five years ago (1799), of Dutch houses and dirty streets, and containing a College five years old from the time of its corporate birth. We called on the President of the College, Dr. Jonathan Edwards, an eminent metaphysical divine, son of the more eminent metaphysical divine of the same baptismal name, who is as much known by his published works, and as much celebrated, in England and Scotland as in the United States. President Edwards of Union College was elected to the office he then held in June, 1799, and had removed to Schenectady but a few weeks before we saw him. He was fifty-four years of age when he withdrew from a small parish in Connecticut, to undertake the duties

of President of this College, and lived but little more than two years after he entered upon his new work. His appearance seemed to me to indicate a saturnine temperament, or at least a low state of animal spirits, unfavorable for encountering the levity of youth. It might, however, have been a temporary oppression, arising from so serious a change of occupation. As to his success or promise of success in his official station I know nothing.

Some particulars in the juvenile history of President Edwards are noteworthy for their singularity. His father, who had been a Congregational minister in Northampton for more than twenty-three years, was dismissed from his church in consequence of an irreparable breach occasioned by different views concerning church-membership; and in the year 1751 he accepted the appointment of missionary to the tribe of Indians at Stockbridge, where he preached for six years to red men and white. The son, at the time of the removal of his father to this place, was only six years of age, and there was but one school in the place, which was common to the children of both races; and this he attended during the six years of his father's ministry. At the close of this period, he had acquired, as he said, a perfect knowledge of the language of the tribe, and of its pronunciation, so that the natives frequently said that "he spoke exactly like an Indian." It was more than thirty years after he left Stockbridge, and after he became the minister of a parish in New Haven, that he wrote a tract on this language, which was published with the following title: "Observations on the Language of the Munhekaneew [observe that the spelling

is his own] Indians. New Haven, 1788. — Communicated to the Connecticut Society of Arts and Sciences, and published at their Request." *

At the inn we met the Hon. Henry Glen, a Representative in Congress, first elected to the Third Congress, and thence successively to the Sixth, inclusive; an inhabitant of Schenectady. He was pronounced by some one to be the wisest member of the House, and accordingly was so reported somewhat widely, because in that body "he never said a foolish word, and always voted right"; the full explanation of which was, that he never broke silence in any debate, and always voted with the most trustworthy of his colleagues. In some way he and my father there became known to each other, and enjoyed a half-hour's interview, in which Mr. Glen imparted much information about the neighbor-

* In this tract the author speaks of the perfect command he had acquired of the sounds of this language in his childhood, adding, that he "knew the names of many things in it, which he did not know in English; and that his recollection of the words and sounds — notwithstanding the long interval — was still unimpaired." The most remarkable thing in his account of this language is the assertion that it contains no adjectives; "and although it may at first seem not only singular, but absolutely impossible, that a language should exist without adjectives, it is an indubitable fact." All the knowledge he possessed of this language was acquired when he had completed the twelfth year of his age. The philosophizing was reserved for his riper years, and not communicated to the public until he was more than forty years old. Still, there may be some fallacy. The analysis of an unwritten language is difficult, and not much to be relied upon, and sometimes probably very deceptive in its results. Words run into each other, so to speak, or are contracted, or in such a manner combined as to produce great uncertainty. Even a

hood, and, in his official station as a legislator, showed himself well versed in the political history of the times, and capable of justly appreciating the characters of its actors.

After this pleasant variety in our pilgrimage, we proceeded on the short remaining way over the sandy road to the healing waters of Ballston. When arrived, we found nothing inviting in the outward appearance of the place. It was similar to much of the lands we had passed through, which were stripped of their pine forests. The stumps of the trees in the sandy valley of the springs were but partly removed. The Congress Spring had been discovered, but no house of entertainment was built. It was visited by such of the company at Ballston as were disposed to be conveyed in a carriage over a bad road, and when their curiosity

written language, when used in common oral intercourse, is so disguised in some words that a foreigner and learner, in referring to a dictionary, guided by the sound, would be at once bewildered. Thus, *aint*, colloquial, for *am not*, in all persons, numbers, and genders; *taint*, a worse vulgarism for *it is not; mebbe so*, for *it may be so; furzino*, for *so far as I know; fortino*, for *for what I know*. Dr. Edwards's illustration of this singular defect, namely, the want of adjectives, in the language of which he speaks, is very limited, and he thinks to find it supplied in the form of a neuter verb; as, for example, he says, "one word signifies *he is beautiful*," and compares it with certain "Latin neuter verbs, as *valeo*," &c. But a people that have reached such a degree of refinement of language must have adjectives denoting the common qualities small and great, good and bad, of color and shape, &c. And if the sense of the beautiful extended to a variety of natural objects for which they had names, it should seem to require less invention to discriminate them by simple adjective nouns (if not unavoidable), than by neuter verbs embracing various qualities.

was satisfied they returned to their lodgings. Two houses with decent provision for visitors sufficed. They were well filled, but not crowded. The land around them was cultivated only in a few spots for common garden vegetables, and otherwise was entirely devoid of ornament. There was no lack of company in regard either to number or variety, and belonging to various parts of the United States. Probably there was among them a greater proportion of invalids than in after years. Still most of the visitors were such as are generally found at watering-places, seeking for recreation; the cheerful and the gay mingled with the more quiet and meditative. Among them I found agreeable companions whom I had before known, and others with whom I had pleasant intercourse.

My father's main object was better health, though he was well enough to enjoy the fellowship of some of the older visitors in particular. Of this number, I remember, Theodore Sedgwick was one. Their meeting, though altogether unexpected, was attended with some pleasant circumstances. It was but a few weeks before that the degree of Doctor of Laws had been conferred on Mr. Sedgwick at Harvard College, which doubtless had come to his knowledge, if he had not received official notice. He was a graduate of Yale in the same year, 1765, that Mr. Willard graduated at Harvard College; but was several years junior in age. During the whole of Washington's and Adams's administrations he was a member of Congress, the first two years of the latter in the Senate, and the two succeeding in the House of Representatives, and consequently was Representative elect when we met him at the Springs. He

was chosen Speaker of the House when Congress assembled in the following December. Further back, indeed, we may date his political distinction. He was a member of the County Convention of Berkshire, July 6, 1774, "to consider what was necessary and prudent to be done in the present alarming situation of our public affairs." This was the earliest of those county meetings which gave a mighty impetus to the revolutionary movements in Massachusetts. Of the Congress under the Confederation he was a member from 1785 to 1788, so that in his case, between his Congressional office in the Confederacy and that under the Constitution, no link in the chain was wanting.

Mr. Sedgwick was an ardent Federalist, and as a member of the Senate had shared with Mr. Adams, the President of the United States, in his indignation at the treatment of our envoys by the French government, and approved of his determination not again to send ministers to France without express assurances that they would be treated with respect. The recent mission of Ellsworth, Davie, and Murray he considered as inconsistent with this determination, and that the President, so far from having received such assurances, had proceeded on vague and indirect communications from the French government, which should have been treated with contempt, and that he had thus dishonored himself and the country. Mr. Willard was a personal friend of Mr. Adams, and, if he had something of the same feeling, he spoke of the matter with more reserve.

We remained at the Springs ten days or more; a longer time, as I thought, than most persons would wish

to remain there for pleasure. In such places of resort there has always seemed to me to be a wearisome search for enjoyment among the greater part of the visitors, and very little found. With many the thought of home is uppermost. An idle curiosity takes possession of others, giving rise to corresponding questions: Who has arrived to-day? Who is going or gone? Who can tell me any news? How can I dispose of my time this livelong day? This vacancy and vagrancy of mind, unfavorable to reading, this hunting for pleasure and amusement, is frivolous, toilsome, and unsatisfying. My father, more contemplative, had time for rest after his journey, and perhaps derived some benefit from the free use of the waters as a remedy for his bilious habit.

Leaving Ballston we went to Stillwater, and spent a few hours at Dr. Willard's, a gentleman much respected as a citizen and a physician, whose hospitality my father had afterwards an opportunity to reciprocate in Cambridge. After dining we proceeded up the river, stopping at Saratoga, where we visited the spot which makes the town memorable in the history of the war of the American Revolution, by the surrender of Burgoyne with his army of five thousand men. Thence we shaped our course for Whitehall, or that part of the town then more commonly called Skeensborough, passing over a portion of the military log-road made through a wilderness by that general in his progress from Ticonderoga to Saratoga, with an ultimate expectation which was signally defeated. Manifestly the road could not have been much improved since it was first constructed, twenty-two years before. The interstices between the timbers were imperfectly filled, and the springs of our vehicle were in

constant peril.* My father's curiosity was greatly alive to see Ticonderoga; but we found no vessel or boat at Whitehall suitable for a passage by water. While loitering about the wharf we saw near by a man just paddling his canoe to the shore, and a thought struck my father that we might be conveyed in this little craft to the desired landing. The thought would never have entered into my head; and though I could not look

* The delay occasioned by the making of this road was a fatal blunder. Burgoyne was a writer of some minor dramatic pieces; but in beginning a true campaign of 1777, he appears to have assumed the buskin, and spoke in high-wrought tragic style. He had forgotten, however, the wise admonition of the king of Israel to the Assyrian king: "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off." Thus he uttered his threats of fire, sword, and famine against the Yankee "outcasts," at the close of his manifesto on the 29th of June: "I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the state against the wilful outcasts. The messengers of justice and of wrath await them in the field, and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will be the way to their return." This is sanguinary enough for any civil war, but a most unfortunate prologue to the progress and closing scene of the tragedy. In less than four months after this bravado, the author was hemmed in on every side by the "outcasts," and, by the unanimous advice of his council of war, entered into a convention of surrender. To whom? To the general of the "outcasts." What terms does the victor demand? Does he not demand some humiliating act, like passing under the yoke,—*jugum ignominiosum*? No. Does he not require the troops of the vanquished to ground their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war? No. His magnanimity triumphs here too, and the troops of the enemy are allowed to march out of camp, with the honors of war.

upon such an adventure without a little revulsion of feeling, I did not protest, but trusted to his better judgment.

The bargain for the passage was soon concluded. My father and myself sat, one at each end of the canoe, on the bottom of the boat, and the boatman in the middle; he performed his duty well, and his whole demeanor was such as to inspire confidence. My father accomplished his purpose, but his curiosity was ill rewarded. The military works of this memorable place were all in ruins, the grounds were overgrown with bushes, and a young growth of wood, which had sprung up during the twenty-two years that had passed since it was abandoned by the American troops, when it was invested by Burgoyne; and it had become a solitary thicket, and swamp, annexed to a farm. The fortress was so nearly demolished, that an imperfect idea only could be formed of its construction, and we found no intelligent guide to enlighten us on the subject. After a favorable view of this part of Lake Champlain, of Mount Independence, about two miles southeast of the fortress of Ticonderoga, and of the adjacent country, we resumed our seats in the little canoe, and landed safely at Whitehall. Thence we proceeded to the beautiful Lake George, where we spent a day at a house converted from a portion of an old barrack into an inn, — from the soldier's home to the traveller's resting-place. I spent an hour or two angling in its limpid waters, and watching the fishes nibbling at the bait, until one and another too greedily seized the hook, and became captive. From Lake George we went to Burlington in Vermont, a place since become well known, lying

upon a bay of the same name in Lake Champlain. From the shore of this bay the ground rises towards the east, by a gradual ascent, affording a beautiful view of the lake and of the land on the opposite side. The town at the time of our visit was in its infancy, containing only seven or eight hundred inhabitants, but showing signs of rapid growth.

Vermont had been admitted into the Union but eight years, after a long series of conflicts with New York and New Hampshire, and was beginning to enjoy the blessings of an independent State. In the same year, 1791, that the controversies issued in this happy event, the Legislature of the State passed an act establishing the "University of Vermont" at Burlington. Several years previous to this, with a foresight creditable to the government, the Assembly had reserved a right of land in all townships which they had granted, for the endowment of such a seminary. Little, however, had as yet been realized from this endowment. A large wooden building had been erected previous to 1799 for the residence of the President and his family, and for students under his instruction for future admission to the seminary. The first President, Rev. Daniel Clarke Sanders, had been chosen into that office not long before the visit of President Willard to Burlington, where the latter was received with great kindness and respect, by that son of Harvard College, to his house and home. There Mr. Sanders was beginning the difficult work of rearing an infant institution, whose trustees were widely separated, whose lands were only to a small amount productive, and whose private benefactors were yet to be found.

My father now looked homeward. From Burlington we went to Vergennes, then or soon after an incorporated city, containing four or five hundred inhabitants. Thence we went through intervening towns to Rutland, where we stopped about twenty-four hours. In this town lived Samuel Williams, who had been the Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard College, from the year 1780 to 1788. Eleven years had passed since I saw him for the last time in Cambridge, passing from the President's study through the yard on his way to his own house. I remember his white hat and drab coat, his dignified, erect person and solemn gait. He went from Cambridge on the next day, leaving his family behind him, and never returned.

In his office he had a well-earned reputation, grounded on his scientific acquirements, and his popularity as a lecturer. Had he possessed the deep-rooted moral qualities of his eminent predecessor, John Winthrop, he might long have been honored in his station, and been repaid by the grateful remembrance of his contemporaries in office, and of the pupils that had been benefited by his instructions. But under a lamentable imputation against him in regard to a pecuniary affair, which was about to be made a matter of inquiry by the Overseers, it seemed best to his advisers and to himself that he should relinquish at once his office and place of abode, and depart to some unknown retreat. This he did forthwith, and the first knowledge of him, after his departure, was that he had become a resident in Rutland, Vermont. The family of Dr. Williams remained in Cambridge through the year 1788, and did not remove.

I believe, until the following spring. They were treated with great kindness by their neighbors and friends in Cambridge. They spent Thanksgiving day at my father's, in the year 1788, and I remember that at dinner Charles K. Williams, the late Governor of Vermont, then the only son at home with his mother, sat with me and my younger brother at a side-table. He was of about my age (the age of eight years at that time), and we were fellow-soldiers of the wooden-gun company, which, in one of the days of our turning out for exercise, paraded in his father's yard.

Mrs. Williams was a lady of pleasant manners and social disposition, and was subject to a good deal of transient company. Domestic economy was not one of the virtues attributed to her. She was more generous than provident; and, like many other generous persons of small pecuniary resources, she was a great borrower, particularly when visitors came unawares, and she was in straits for a pound of butter, or bowl of sugar, or pair of chickens. Her memory also, like that of many other borrowers of the same class, was very frail in this matter, in regard to the value received.

Dr. Williams in his new abode gained the respect of the people of his neighborhood, and became a benefactor to the State by the practical use of his learning and of his scientific knowledge. So early as 1794 he became favorably and widely known in Vermont, and elsewhere, by the publication of his work entitled "The Natural and Civil History of Vermont." It is an interesting book, written in a simple, pleasing style, and abounding in philosophical and ethical remarks growing out of historical facts. The protracted and violent

controversy with New Hampshire and New York, before the admission of the State into the Union, is given with sufficient detail, and forms an essential part of the permanent value of the work.*

While we were stopping at Rutland, my father, not without a feeling of some embarrassment, called and spent an hour or two of the afternoon at the house of Dr. Williams, and the time passed off very well, in conversation upon the topics of the day, and local matters pertaining to Vermont. On the next morning, in walking out to see the village, I overtook the Doctor at some distance from his house, leading his horse saddled and bridled, moving at a very slow pace, and apparently in a meditative mood, from which he awoke at my near approach, showing no signs of displeasure at the interruption, and entered into friendly conversation.

From Rutland we went to Windsor, and thence home, without experiencing any memorable incident. My father's health was materially improved by his journey; but it was never fully restored.

* Volney, in his work entitled "Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats Unis de l'Amerique," speaks of Williams's History of Vermont, and also of Belknap's History of New Hampshire, particularly the third volume, in terms of high praise.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

My Residence at College as a Student of Divinity. — Associates in this Study. — Our Privileges. — Resident Graduates in other Professions. — Hollis Professor of Divinity. — His Connection with Theological Students, and Duties of his Office for their Benefit. — Their Course of Theological Reading and Study. — Dogmatical Theology. — Increasing Tendency to Free Inquiry. — Not discouraged in this Respect by my Father, the President. — His Views of Doctrinal Preaching. — My Desire to relieve my Father from the Expense of my Support. — Kept a School in the Winter of 1798 – 99. — My Father's Salary inadequate to the Support of his Family. — My Election to the Office of Librarian after the Death of Samuel Shapleigh, in April, 1800. — My Associates the Members of the Immediate Government within the Walls. — Condition of the Library. — Catalogue of Books in the Year 1790. — Benefactors of the Library.

SEVERAL of my class remained at College or returned to it at different intervals, for the purpose of pursuing professional or other studies as resident graduates. Among the strong motives for this were the use of the College Library and the benefit to be derived from literary society. Theological students composed the greater part of these residents. Medical students generally pursued their studies in other places, under the direction of physicians eminent in their profession. All the lec-

tures of the Professors in the Medical Department were, at the period of which I am speaking and for several years afterwards, delivered annually at the College, and a considerable portion of those who attended them as a part of their professional education resided in Cambridge during the continuance of the courses. Members of the Senior Class and resident graduates attended the several courses of these lectures, or either of them. After the Medical School was removed to Boston, a series of lectures was required to be delivered annually by the Professors of the Theory and Practice of Physic and of Chemistry, severally, to the Senior Class, adapted to their standing; and in the year 1827, the Professor of Chemistry was required to reside in Cambridge, and to give the whole instruction to the undergraduates in this department.

Besides myself and a few others of my class, who resided at College during the whole or part of the time, before receiving approbation as preachers, there were also a number from classes that preceded and followed us; so that at all times those who were preparing to preach, or had already become candidates for the ministry, constituted a society of favorable influence on one another, and assembled at stated times for private religious exercises. The Hollis Professor of Divinity, of whom I have already spoken, among the other officers of College, while I was an undergraduate, was looked up to by the resident students in Divinity as an adviser and guide in theological study; but there was no prescribed course of study or of examinations. He was always accessible, and ready to listen to questions pertaining to a course of reading and study, and to difficulties about doctrines and cases of conscience; but the occasions for access were those only of a student's own seeking. The only direct preparation required for the pursuit of theological study, to which he contributed, was derived from his past private lectures in connection with Doddridge's Lectures on Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity, as a text-book, and from his public theological lectures, which were still attended. But his private counsels and instructive discourse, and recommendation of authors, were regarded, as they deserved to be, with great respect; and he gave a tone of mingled conservatism and free inquiry to those who were preparing to become religious teachers, which tended to preserve such a temper among sincere Christian believers, as would lead them "to hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bonds of peace, and in righteousness of life."

The Bible was our text-book, and primary, daily study, in which everything centred. The Old Testament, I believe, most, if not all, of us were content with reading in the common English translation. Our knowledge of Hebrew, if any, was very limited; in this language, our study, while undergraduates, was confined to a part of the Hebrew Psalter, without the vowel-points, and the study closed so early in our College course, that those of us who had made any proficiency had probably forgotten a great part of the little we had learned. Not having the aid or encouragement of an instructor in this language in our professional course, we made no effort to revive and extend our knowledge. It would have required no little time, not very profitably spent, to carry into effect the scholastic exercise of

the preceding century, namely, the reading every morning a portion of the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek. They who had the gift of a good memory, would have been very apt to read the Hebrew words, from a mere alphabetical knowledge of the language, and to recite *memoriter* the corresponding words in the Septuagint. Of Greek, indeed, we might be reasonably supposed to know so much as to enable us easily to learn more, and to study the New Testament critically. In this way only could we become really trustworthy expounders of what Christ and the Apostles taught.

Among the books to be read and studied pertaining to natural and revealed religion, recommended by the Professor of Divinity or pointed out by traditional authority, were Butler's Analogy of Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature; Paley's View of the Evidences of Christianity; Abernethy's Discourses on the Being and Perfections of God; Leland's Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation; and Leland's View of the Principal Deistical Writers in England.

Commentaries and critical helps in the study of the Bible each one might seek out for himself, and take advice from the Professor or confer with others in like pursuits concerning them. In ecclesiastical history, as covering the whole period of the Christian Church from its origin to the beginning of the eighteenth century, together with a sketch of its history in the former part of the eighteenth, Mosheim, translated from the Institutiones in Latin, with notes by Richard McLaine, was the standard author. Sermons in English and French, and other religious and devotional writings, formed a considerable part of our reading, and in fact

there was a length and breadth in our range which was marked by no other boundaries to our choice than time and taste and a sense of duty prescribed. Lardner's works afforded a mine in which we wrought to some purpose.

Traditionary, dogmatic theology had begun to be suspected. Still there was a feeling of timidity which sought relief rather by a modification than a denial of some of the doctrines as they were commonly received. It was not until several years afterwards that an irreparable breach was made in our Congregational churches, which charity in its full perfection, that beareth, believeth, hopeth, endureth all things, could not heal. Yet we found there were among the reputed Orthodox clergy those who were less startled at doubts concerning the *letter* of some of the generally received doctrines, or a departure from them, than we had been accustomed to expect. But they whose doctrinal knowledge was so comprehensive that they were assured of the whole truth, who did not, like Paul, ground their charity in the humble axioms, that we know in part and prophesy or teach in part, — that we see through a dim glass, — denounced as heretics those who swerved from the more commonly received doctrines, as if they themselves had the tongues of men and of angels, and had the gift of prophecy or teaching so infallibly, as to feel assured that they understood all mysteries and all knowledge.

I well remember, that, in the course of my studies in the New Testament doctrines, I opened with some hesitation my difficulties concerning the Trinity to my father. He was not shocked at the disclosure, nor in-

clined to offer illustrations of what he deemed to be mysterious; and he left on my mind the impression, that he was willing to trust me to the unbiased results of my own investigation of the matter, whatever might have been his own views concerning it.*

Besides the pleasure and advantage of pursuing their studies as resident graduates at College, on account of its library and lectures, and the association of several in preparation for the same professional calling, the theological students derived some pecuniary aid from the charitable fund of Edward Hopkins. The only condition for receiving this aid was the writing of two or more dissertations annually, in English and Latin alternately, and reading the same in the Chapel after evening prayers before the President and students. The number of those who were candidates for this charity not being such, at the time of my entering my

* A few sentences which I here select from the sermon of President Willard delivered in the West Church in Boston at the funeral services of Dr. Howard, show the freedom of the former from religious bigotry. "Dr. Howard's sermons were always methodical, clear, full of good matter, calculated to inform the understanding and better the heart. None could hear his discourses without being edified, except those who preferred doubtful disputations, and strife about words, to wholesome doctrines easily understood, and to those precepts of Christianity which inculcate a good life and cannot be misconstrued. While he preached repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, he inculcated holiness of heart and life, and exhorted all who believed in God to maintain good works and practical godliness. He embraced in his affection all good men. Though he did not admit that all religious opinions are equally favorable to Christianity, yet he was fully persuaded that unity of sentiment was not necessary to friendship and brotherly love; for were it necessary, the best men in this state of imperfection would often be alienated from each other." This is substantially a true description of the writer's own preaching, and Christian character and affections.

Dr. Howard was reputed to be an Arian and Arminian. When he was ordained as minister of the West Church in 1767, he was regarded by several of the Congregational clergy in that town as heretical in his opinions. I remember, not long before his death, that my father, remarking upon the reputed heresy of Dr. Howard in the early days of his ministry, added, "He is now as Orthodox as the other ministers of his denomination," — not implying thereby any change in his friend, but a change in the standard of Boston Orthodoxy. The fact is, that it was after this time that the more rigid theologians among the Congregational clergy began to be very inquisitive about the metaphysical doctrines and modes of philosophizing among their less positive brethren.

name as a student of divinity, as to occasion any competition for it, I was one who asked for it and received it.

Having determined, if possible, to save my father from any further expense on my account, except for my board, I taught in one of the district schools in the neighboring town of Waltham during four months in the winter of 1798–99. In addition to the small pecuniary benefit thus derived, a still greater was derived from the self-discipline acquired in this employment. The pupils were of both sexes, and the males varied in years from such as were about my own age down to children of five years. There was therefore something to be learned in the management of children and youth in this variety of age, of temper, of intelligence, and of progress, in regard both to the art of teaching and that of government.

For aiming to exempt my father, as soon as possible, from any further expense on my account, I had the best of reasons. My elder brother, Augustus, who was graduated in 1793, was the only member of the family of children who no longer leaned on parental support. Eight children were wholly dependent upon it, and myself partly so, for a short time. There were no limits to the hospitality of the house. It was furnished throughout, from the first floor to the attic, with everything absolutely necessary for the indwellers and visitors, but with the least expense that decency permitted, even at that day of comparative frugality, and in a manner, as to the quality of the articles, that would now be thought mean for a mechanic or a trader of ordinary thrift. The President's salary was inadequate to his support; and, to balance his annual account of debt and credit, he was obliged to encroach upon my mother's income from a small inherited property.

Until April, in the year 1800, I continued to be a member of the domestic household. At this time the office of Librarian at College became vacant by the death of Samuel Shapleigh. In my situation, and with my views of self-dependence, it was a very desirable office; and the small salary of four hundred and fifty dollars would, during the remaining time of study, before being approved as a preacher, pay all my necessary expenses, and enable me to purchase some books. But from my father's known delicacy in official concerns, he was the last man to whom I would make known my wishes for any College honor or benefit. Incidentally I learned that a resident graduate, my friend and classmate, nearly two years older than myself, was mentioned

by my father to a member of the Corporation, as one who might be considered to have a prior right to expect the appointment. When the choice fell to me, I well knew that it was through no personal influence used by him, and everybody who was acquainted with him must have known the same.*

No occurrence could have been more opportune than this in regard to my wishes, and wants, and pursuits. One half way advanced in my twentieth year, I had no occasion for haste in looking forward to a more permanent occupation. Placed just where I could find sufficient time and favorable means to build upon the slender foundation which I had laid for my literary fabric, I divided my hours that were not devoted to the duties of my office, and to exercise and recreation, between classical and theological studies. Sometimes, indeed, among the visitors to the Library there were tedious loiterers, who did not seem to know why they came thither; but it was also visited by most of the distinguished strangers, as well foreigners as citizens, from various parts of the United States, who had journeyed to the neighboring capital.

Besides the library apartment, there was in Harvard Hall a room about twelve or thirteen feet square, into which was crowded the philosophical apparatus. For-

* Professor Pearson, who had recently been elected a member of the Corporation to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of James Bowdoin, son of James Bowdoin, late Governor of Massachusetts, took a decided interest in my behalf, and ever after, as he had always before, treated me with kindness. I was not an infrequent visitor in his family, and occasionally joined with him in singing his favorite tunes in sacred music.

tunately, this was under the key and keeping of the Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. There was also a room of the same size, called a Museum, not devoted to study and the Muses, but filled with snakes and lizards preserved in spirit, and stuffed skins of quadrupeds and birds, sharks' jaws, dried skins of large serpents, and various *miscellanea curiosa*, under the care of the Librarian, that furnished a great attraction for the country cousins of the students from the interior, and occasioned much weariness to the showman, the Librarian. Their eyes could not be satisfied with seeing, nor their ears without hearing, the names and properties of everything, in answer to their questions. How often might I not have coveted the indulgent temper of my amiable predecessor, Shapleigh, who would smile at every query, and repeat the oft-repeated proverb of the insatiable desire of the eye, with the same apparent *gout* as if it were a primitive utterance impromptu, if such a treasure could have been bequeathed; and in failure thereof have added,

"How poor are they that have not patience!"

It became my duty as Librarian to board in Commons, at the Tutors' table, so called. From the time of my appointment until Commencement, 1800, the Tutors were William Amherst Barron, Levi Hedge, Daniel Appleton White, and Samuel Farrar. We breakfasted and dined together, and in general upon tolerable fare. Though we were necessarily diligent in finishing our meals, lest the scholars should become impatient, in waiting for the expression of thanks to be returned to the Giver of all things by the senior officer, our meals

were social, and after dining it was a frequent practice to visit each other's rooms, for a half-hour's conversation or more on any of the general topics of the day.

Mr. Barron was succeeded by Jabez Kimball, Joseph Emerson, and Parker Cleaveland. Mr. Hedge became a permanent Tutor, and ceased to occupy a study in the College buildings. Mr. White was succeeded by Daniel Kimball, in 1803, and Mr. Samuel Farrar by Elisha Clapp, in 1801, and by Richard Sanger, in 1803. Mr. Cleaveland received an invitation to fill a professorship in Bowdoin College, before his resignation as Tutor in Harvard College, and he, Mr. Kimball, Mr. Sanger, and myself severally resigned our offices at the close of the quarter before Commencement in 1805.

During the period of five years that I held the office of Librarian I was intimately associated with these gentlemen (all of them my seniors in age) while they continued in office. Mr. Hedge, however, was an exception to those whose office ceased at or before the termination of mine. His was made permanent, as I have before shown. He vacated his study in College in the year 1800, and an officer was appointed to occupy a room in one of the halls to supply the place of a Tutor, for preserving order in the rooms in his entry, and to perform the duties that had been discharged by the Butler, so far as it regarded the keeping of certain records. He was allowed the service of a Freshman, and the offices of Butler and of Butler's Freshman were abolished. The title of this new officer was Regent. The office was filled during the remainder of my continuance as Librarian by Ebenezer Thatcher, William Ellery Channing, my classmates, and William Allen, of the class graduated in 1802, successively.

Of Mr. Hedge I have spoken in another place, and of Mr. Barron also. The latter, in the mathematical department, was succeeded by Jabez Kimball.

Mr. Kimball continued in office one year only, the academic year 1800 – 1801, and his withdrawal was much regretted by all of us who remained. He was a man of great energy, mental ability, and moral worth, a genial companion, friendly, affectionate, and disinterested. Before entering upon his tutorship he had completed the period of the study of law requisite for admission to the bar; and after resigning his office at College he passed a few months in the practice of law with Hon. John Prentice of Londonderry, New Hampshire, with whom he had studied the profession. Afterwards he opened an office at Chesterfield in the same State, and thence removed to Haverhill, Massachusetts. He was very successful in his profession during his short life. He died in March, 1805.

The Rev. John S. Popkin, who resigned his office as Tutor in Harvard College in July, 1798, soon afterwards preached at Londonderry, residing there during the period of his public services in that place. This was in the autumn of 1798 and of the last year of Kimball's professional study with Mr. Prentice. Mr. Popkin, who had known Kimball and held him in great regard as a student at College, renewed his acquaintance with him at Londonderry, which grew and ripened into confiding intimacy and mutual and lasting friendship. At the time of Mr. Kimball's death at Haverhill, Mr. Popkin, who was then a minister in Newbury, preached the funeral sermon, in which, after speaking of the bereavement as affecting those most nearly connected with the

deceased, added: "I, too, have known the man, the scholar, and the friend; I have been his instructor and his companion, and never have I known one more friendly, more complacent, more attractive of friendship; with most pleasant ease combining soundest sense and knowledge; with an honest civility tempering an apt and ready invention; with a discriminating judgment correcting a quick apprehension; with a keen perception of mankind preserving a steady and active regard to their welfare, to honorable and virtuous principles, to well-tried maxims and institutions of public utility." This was a sincere eulogy from a man of discrimination, — from one who knew whereof he affirmed.

Of the ten gentlemen above mentioned as contemporary with me, four are still living. Daniel Appleton White is well known as a man of great learning and intellectual power, who has promptly obeyed every call, and the calls have been very numerous, to employ his gifts and impart his various knowledge on important occasions of different kinds, and to act in many responsible trusts; while he has at all times scrupulously fulfilled his primary official duties. He was chosen Tutor in the Latin department in November, 1799, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. William Wells, who left Cambridge at that time, and resided for a season in the District of Maine.* Beginning with 1794, in July, there had been five Tutors in this department in succession before the appointment of Mr. White.

* In the College Catalogue of Tutors, the close of Mr. Wells's tutorship is erroneously dated 1800. His resignation took place in November, 1799.

It was a fortunate day for the College when the Corporation succeeded in appointing a man so well fitted for the office, who was willing to remain in it long enough to give to it additional importance by his experience in teaching. Mr. Wells, the eminent scholar who preceded him, exceeded a few months only the time of the continuance of his four predecessors severally. Mr. White resigned in July, 1803; but if my personal wishes and regard for the College could have been of any avail I should have entreated him to remain two years longer. In September of the same year he removed to Salem and entered the office of Hon. Samuel Putnam, afterward a Justice of the Supreme Court. While at Cambridge Mr. White had his name as student of law in the office of Francis Dana Channing.

In Mr. Putnam's office John Pickering was his fellow-student; and these distinguished scholars there jointly prepared for the press an edition of Sallust, intended for the use of the College. But as soon as the work was published and ready for sale, the whole edition, with other books of the publishers (Cushing and Appleton), was destroyed by fire. Mr. White informs me that he has a letter from President Willard, in answer to inquiries relating to the manner of preparing the edition of Sallust, dated February, 1804, in which the President said: "We are all of opinion that it will be unnecessary in the proposed edition of Sallust to print the Fragments. We think it would be expedient to have notes; and that it would be better to print them at the bottom of the pages to which they respectively belong, than at the end. We are in favor of accents. With respect to the edition from which it

would be best to have the volume printed, we cannot advise you, as none of us have had the opportunity of being acquainted with any but the Delphine edition, and that by Hunter."

Mr. White was admitted to the bar in Essex County in June, 1804, and entered upon the business of his profession in Newburyport. Six years afterwards he was claimed for a servant of the public; and for five successive years, namely, from 1810 to 1814 inclusive, he was a member of the Massachusetts Senate. He was conspicuous in that body, and during this period of five years, embracing the proximate measures tending to war with England, the declaration of war, and its destructive consequences, amidst the bitter hostility between the Federal and Democratic parties, which entered into the State Legislatures, and not least into the Legislature of Massachusetts, he conducted himself in the debates with great dignity and parliamentary decorum; but when occasion called for it, and his adversary exposed himself by arrogance or inconsistency, or blunders combined with both, his rebukes were worded with peculiar aptness, and sustained with great power and pungency.

In November, 1814, he was elected a Representative to the Fourteenth Congress, and duly commissioned. But in May, 1815, he was appointed by Governor Strong Judge of Probate for Essex County, and thereupon resigned his seat as Representative in Congress, and accepted the judicial office, and continued to perform its duties until his resignation in the year 1853.

In August, 1815, Mr. White was chairman of a com-

mittee, of which Nathaniel Appleton Haven, of Portsmouth, and Rev. Ephraim Putnam Bradford, both of the State of New Hampshire, were the other members, to investigate the concerns of Dartmouth College in relation to the controversy between President Wheelock and the Trustees, and to report a statement of facts to the Legislature of New Hampshire; which was accordingly done. In the year 1817 he removed from Newburyport to Salem.

On several occasions Mr. White has been called upon to deliver eulogies on deceased friends and public characters. At Harvard College, in April, 1800, he pronounced a eulogy in the Chapel on Samuel Shapleigh, Librarian, deceased. Before this, in January of the same year, he delivered a eulogy on Washington at Methuen, his native town, I believe. On Nathaniel Bowditch, who died at Boston in the year 1838, he performed the same service at Salem; and also on John Pickering, LL.D., in Boston, before the members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in 1846. In 1805 he delivered an Address before the Merrimack Humane Society; in 1830, an Address before the Essex County Lyceum; in 1840, an Address at the Consecration of Harmony Grove Cemetery; and in 1844, an Address before the Society of Alumni at Harvard College. In 1822, he published "A View of the Probate Jurisdiction"; and in 1832, "An Account of the Controversy between the First Church and the Tabernacle Church in Salem." Most, if not all, of these productions of his pen were printed, and perhaps others not named. Certainly many valuable communications have been made by him to authors of biographical and other works, of some of

which the public have had, and of others are to have, the benefit.

Samuel Farrar, though in regard to intercourse with the world of men and letters his opportunities and habits have occasioned him to be more exclusive than his friend and classmate, Judge White, has yet been very useful in the sphere in which he has moved. He was a Tutor one year or more, from some time in the year 1800 to Commencement in 1801. He studied law and practised in that profession at Andover for some time; but after the Theological Seminary in that place was organized, he was chosen Treasurer of the institution; which office he has held to the present time. His reputation in regard to the management of its secular and prudential affairs is eminent, and his character exemplary and beneficent in all respects.

Parker Cleaveland, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Mineralogy, in Bowdoin College, though remarkably stationary and domestic in his habits, became widely known in the United States, in Great Britain, and on the continent of Europe, by his early and successful treatise on Mineralogy and Geology, published in 1816, and in a second edition in 1822. A third edition was loudly called for, and expected; but, in consequence, as I have been led to believe, of his onerous professional duties as a teacher and lecturer, and increasing domestic cares, and the advancing state of the sciences embraced in his work, he feared that opportunity would be wanting to pursue them so thoroughly as to satisfy himself or to fulfil the expectations which he had excited in the scientific world. His high reputation as a lecturer is spread all

over the country by a succession of graduates of Bowdoin College for nearly fifty years, and through them will be transmitted the praise of his learning and eloquence long after his voice shall cease to be heard.

The title of his professorship is more comprehensive than that of any professor of mathematics and physics within my knowledge or remembrance; namely, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Mineralogy; and his labors correspond to these branches in due proportion, and to as great an extent and to as thorough a treatment of them as can be compassed by an intellect active, searching, and unerring, and an industry that never tires.

Daniel Kimball succeeded Mr. White as a Tutor in the Latin department. He is a good Latin scholar, and acquitted himself well in his office for two years, beginning in August, 1803. Since his resignation in 1805, he has devoted himself partly to preaching and partly to the teaching of pupils, many of them in the studies preparatory to entering college. This he has done with great exactness and fidelity. Though he has never been the minister of any parish to the service of which he was set apart, he was long since ordained as a minister at large, with authority to perform all the public duties which pertain to those who have a permanent pastoral charge. He has several times represented Needham, the town of which he is an inhabitant, in the Legislature.

Of the deceased among my contemporaries in office, besides those of whom I have already spoken, there was Elisha Clap, classmate of Messrs. Farrar, Kimball, and White, Joseph Emerson, my classmate and

friend, and Richard Sanger, classmate of Daniel Kimball.

Mr. Clap was a Tutor in the Greek department for two years. He was a very sound scholar and a good mathematician. In the recitation-room he was very critical in the examination of his pupils in their lessons; too minutely so for their patience, and perhaps for their profit, and certainly so for his own comfort. He was too sensitive to give fair play to his philosophy, and to secure for it a victory over youthful frivolity. Consequently he could not always do justice to himself, or to those of his pupils who were disposed to listen attentively to his instructions. Mr. Clap was a preacher for some years, and a teacher of a private school for some time after he left his office in College. I heard him deliver several very good sermons, but they were not of a popular kind, either in the style or delivery.

Joseph Emerson succeeded Jabez Kimball in the mathematical department. Of him I have spoken before, in the sketches of my classmates.

Richard Sanger succeeded Mr. Clap in the Greek department. He was diligent in his work, during his two years in office, and, like his predecessor, preached occasionally in neighboring parishes. The remainder of his life, after he resigned his tutorship in College, he devoted chiefly to the instruction of youth.

With such companions from that part of the Faculty residing within the College walls, and a happy home to repair to in an evening hour, my lot for five years was a favored one; and as such I have never ceased to regard it, socially, morally, and intellectually.

The increase of the Library was very gradual, during

the four years that it was under my care, and for many years afterwards. My predecessor, Shapleigh, in his will, bequeathed to the Corporation his landed estate in Maine, which not long after his decease they sold for three thousand dollars. The condition of the bequest was that the income should "be sacredly appropriated to the purchase of such modern publications as the Corporation, Professors, and Tutors shall judge most proper to improve the students in polite literature; the books to be deposited in the Library of the University, and to consist of poetry or prose; but neither in Greek nor Latin."

The Shapleigh Fund is the only permanent fund that has existed to the present time for the increase of the Library, except that of Thomas Hollis, the third of the name in the succession of these great benefactors. He died in the year 1774, and left in his will five hundred pounds, which now constitutes a fund of about three thousand dollars for additions to the Library.

During his lifetime he had procured and presented to the College, at great expense of time and money, a large collection of books, many of them very rare, and all bound in the best manner. Some of these, and the most costly, would now probably be sought in vain. Many of them are adorned on the binding with various significant emblems, and contain, on the inside of the cover or blank leaf, sententious remarks and sayings pertaining to the character of the book.

Thomas Brand, who assumed the additional name Hollis, was heir to the estate of the last named, and at various times presented valuable books for the Library. He also bequeathed one hundred pounds to be expended

for "Greek and Latin classics for the use and benefit of the Library of the College."

Some of the books presented by Thomas Brand Hollis were received after the year 1800, and at other times previous to his death, in 1804.

The Rev. John Disney, who published a Memoir of the Life of Thomas Brand Hollis, was his residuary legatee. Dr. Disney was not unmindful of the College, and, besides his own publications, made occasional presents to the Library. Granville Sharpe, Joshua Toulmin, Richard Price, and other English authors, sent some of their own publications, and other works, to the College, but the aggregate was small.

The great deficiencies of the Library were complained of, during my term of office as Librarian, in the same manner as they have been ever since. It is true that scientific and literary books did not come forth at that period in clusters, as they have in later years; but even then the learned and the wealthy were greatly in arrears in withholding the treasures of knowledge that were due to an institution to which they owed so much, for sending forth distinguished men for professional life and various offices of government and instruction, and important trusts in the community. Why did the last Thomas Hollis give one hundred pounds exclusively for the purchase of Greek and Latin classics? Because he knew that the best critical editions were needed for reference by teachers and pupils, for the more thorough understanding of the text-books in use for acquiring a knowledge of these languages. Why did Shapleigh create a fund for the purchase of modern publications for the improvement of the students in polite literature? Because he had so

often witnessed the disappointment of diligent youths, who sought from his hand books of this sort, and sought in vain. Why did Israel Thorndike, in the year 1818, purchase the Ebeling library, at the cost of six thousand five hundred dollars, rescued from the grasp of the king of Prussia, and present it to Harvard College? and Samuel Atkins Eliot, in 1823, Warden's collections of books, maps, and charts pertaining to American History, at the cost of more than four thousand dollars? Because they had wisdom enough to perceive, and patriotism enough to feel, that such vast additions of books pertaining to the history of this continent were all-important, and that the opportunities were to be seized now, forthwith; that, if they were suffered to pass, they were gone for ever; that the collections should centre here in Massachusetts, as a commonwealth of most historical importance in the United States; that the Library of Harvard College, the oldest literary seminary in the land, was the true place of deposit, the rightful storehouse for these treasures, from which, by the access of learned and diligent and philosophical historians, are hereafter to be drawn facts so developed and connected, leading to such reflections, such moral teachings, such warnings against error and wrong, and such encouragement to truth and right, as shall afford lasting instruction to generations following.

The few examples of liberality that I have cited show a tendency in the right way; a desire to collect books relating to a certain department of knowledge as complete in amount as may be, preparatory to future growth, the growth of useful knowledge. Such a course might be pursued in all departments. Let the Academical Professors, and the Professors in the Schools pertaining to the

University, make known the deficiencies of books in their departments, and estimate as nearly as may be the cost of supplying them, and it hardly admits of a doubt, that, in this enlightened and wealthy community, the means would be forthcoming, or at least not long withheld.

Although the College, dating its origin from the record of the General Court by which "the Court agree to give four hundred pounds towards a school or college," was one hundred and twenty-eight years old when the Library was burned in the year 1764, and only a few books, which were in the hands of the officers and students of the College, were saved; and though the present library had its origin in the year 1764, so that when I was charged with its care, in the year 1800, it was only thirty-six years old; yet the prompt exertions of the Overseers of the College after the conflagration, taking advantage of the fresh sympathies of its sons and its friends for obtaining donations of books and contributions for the purchase of books, and by the aid of its patrons and of its new friends in England, in whom they found a similar feeling, (though some books of the old library that were consumed could not perhaps be replaced,) there arose from its ashes a more choice selection, and in better condition.

Distinguished among the donations in New England was the gift of three hundred pounds from the Province of New Hampshire, under the administration of Benning Wentworth, who was a graduate of the College in the year 1715. With this sum a valuable collection of books was purchased, amounting to seven hundred and forty-three volumes.

It was not to be expected that the impulse given to

this object under circumstances of such trial would be of long continuance; and it was not until after the lapse of forty years, that the Library reached the number of twelve or thirteen thousand volumes. In the year 1854 it was estimated at sixty-three thousand volumes. Thus in fifty years the increase in the number of volumes amounts to fifty thousand, — gifts mostly of individuals. For the first twenty-nine years from 1764, the political controversies with Great Britain, revolutionary movements in Massachusetts, and the war of the Revolution, which in the year 1775 occasioned the College buildings to be converted into barracks, and the books in the Library to be removed to Andover and Concord, no considerable accessions could be looked for. It was no small labor to restore those which had been scattered abroad. After the peace followed several years of poverty and tardy progress. But with all the abatements, it must be said that the increase of the Library has borne a proportion lamentably small to the increase of wealth and population and multiplication of books, even of very useful books. I have said that the deficiency of books in the College Library of various classes has been a matter of complaint within my memory, from the last year of the eighteenth century, when I entered on the duties of Librarian, to the present time. In one of the meetings of the Committee of Overseers for visiting the College,* while Andrews Norton was Librarian,

* It was the custom of that time and afterwards for the members of the Immediate Government of the College, which comprised the President, Professors, and Tutors, and the Librarian, to appear before the committee, and make verbal statements of the condition of their department, and of other matters incidental relating to the affairs of the College.

namely, between the years 1813 and 1821, he made a general statement of the wants of the Library, and was asked by the chairman what sum would be sufficient to meet these wants. The Librarian, in reply, said that ten thousand dollars would perhaps supply the immediate and most urgent wants; a reply surely modest enough, although I thought it was received with some surprise by the chairman, that so large an amount was required. The chairman was an intelligent and wealthy man, a friend to learning and all good institutions. His question, too, was pertinent, and seemed to bode some fair intent, but nothing came of it. Considerable additions were made to the Library, however, between 1814 and 1824, of books purchased from a grant of the Legislature of ten thousand dollars a year for ten years, for the necessities of the College, one fourth part of which was required to be expended for the aid of needy scholars. Twenty one thousand four hundred dollars were appropriated for a Medical College; twenty-five thousand were spent on College buildings and improvement on grounds; and eight thousand dollars only were expended for the Library and philosophical and chemical apparatus. University Hall was finished during the year 1814, the first year of the legislative grant, at the cost of six thousand four hundred dollars, leaving a demand upon the unappropriated funds of the College of forty-two or forty-three thousand dollars. It does not appear how much was expended for the Library; but the amount of expenditures for the Library from June, 1810, to February, 1827, nearly seventeen years, was only ten thousand four hundred and sixty-eight dollars; a sum little exceeding that which Mr. Norton

wished early in that term of years to spend forthwith. For several years past the Committees for visiting the Library of the College have called the attention of the Overseers to the crying wants of the Library, and in one instance the Report of a Committee has been published. What they ask is that the sum of one hundred thousand dollars should be raised for a permanent fund, the income of which shall be expended in the purchase of books, and for keeping those already in use in good repair.

It is important that, in large municipalities and in universities, a public library should be made as complete as possible. However worthless many books may be of themselves, they may at some time prove to be of consequence, from their association with persons or historical facts or modes of thinking. How often we close a book or pamphlet, thinking our interest in it is ended, and afterwards, it may be years afterwards, recall some passage containing a fact, an incident, a striking sentiment or quotation, imperfectly remembered, which we recover only by great cost of time and patience, or look for in vain. Some friend of better memory may tell us in what book it is to be found, but after all our pains the library may not be found that contains it. Something is due even to the humblest walk of literature. In the material world, though everything is subject to mutilation or change, nothing is lost; but not so in the world of mind. For the want of scribes ready and skilful, or of convenient instruments for writing, or the want of sufficient demand to encourage multiplication of copies, of the works of poets, philosophers, orators, and historians in the best days of ancient Greece and Rome, many

works, mentioned with high praise in the writings which have been preserved, are irretrievably lost.

To the monastic institutions of the Dark Ages we owe something for the rescue of classic remains from oblivion. Some of the monks redeemed a portion of their time from the usual indolence and mummeries of the cloister, in copying works and fragments which have thus come down to our time; but precious works of later times are liable to be lost by accidental conflagration, by vandalism, or otherwise, and this is reason enough why the patrons of every public library should aim as far as may be at completeness, so that books which may be lost in one may be found in another. This matter, I trust, will not be lost sight of; and the increased interest which in late years the sons of Harvard College have taken in the concerns of their Alma Mater gives promise that they will not suffer her to pine in her increasing age for want of more full provision for intellectual aliment.

When I entered on the office of Librarian the number of volumes was between twelve and thirteen thousand. In this estimate, the tracts, as well those which were bound together as those which were not bound, were counted severally as books or volumes. The first complete Catalogue of the books was printed in the year 1790. It is divided into chapters, entitled "Ordo Capitum," according to the subjects, in a manner very comprehensive, and the books in each chapter are arranged alphabetically, according to the names of their authors, or their titles, if they are anonymous. The whole number of chapters or classes is fifty-four.*

* As this Catalogue was superseded, after an interval of forty

Agreeably to the academic taste of the time of its publication, it has a Latin title-page: "Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harvardianæ Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum. Bostoniæ: Typis Thomæ et Johannis Fleet, MDCCXC." Also, a Latin Advertisement or Preface, as follows: —

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years, by one prepared with great labor and good judgment by Benjamin Peirce, the Librarian, and printed the year before his lamented death, it may gratify some who are curious about the antiquities of the University to see the "Ordo Capitum," or classes into which the books are divided with regard to their subject-matter, in the first Catalogue.

"PARS I.

"Agricultura, Algebra, Anatomia, Antiquitates, Architectura, Artes, Astronomia, Auctores græci latiniq., Biblia sacra, Biographia, Botanice, Catalogi, Chartæ tabulæque eneæ, Chronologia, Chymia et metallurgia, Commercium et mercatura, Concordantiæ sacrum scripturarum, Critica sacra, Dialectica vel logica, Ecclesiastici scriptores antiqui, Ethica, Geographia, Geometria, Grammatica, Heraldica, Historia civilis, Historia antiquitatesque ecclesiæ, Historia antiquitatesque Judæorum, Historia naturalis, Itineraria, Jus civile, Jus ecclesiasticum, Jus municipale, Jus naturale et politicum, Libri periodici, Manuscripti, Materia medica, Mathematica, Metaphysica, Medicina et chirurgia, Miscellanea, Musica, Mythologia, Numismata et pondera, Opera dramatica, Orientalis et rabbinica literatura, Philologia, Physica vel. philos. nat. et experiment., Poetica, Res politicæ, Rhetorica, Societates literariæ, Theologia, Vocabularia.

"PARS II.

"Tractatus biographici, Tractatus de antiquit. tam sacris quam profanis, Tractatus de commercio, Tractatus ecclesiastici scriptoresque antiqui, Tractatus historici, Tractatus mathematici et physici, Tractatus medici et chymici, Tractatus miscellanei, Tractatus morales, et metaphysici, Tractatus nummarii, Tractatus philologici, Tractatus poetici, Tractatus politici et juridici, Tractatus theologici."

"Bibliotheca Harvardiana, partim ex reliquiis prioris, in cineres redactæ mense Januarij anno 1764, præcipuè verùm ex munificentia multorum Mæcenatum, tam in Europâ, quam in Americâ ab eo tempore oritur. Catalogus ejus selectior in usum academiæ alumnorum abhinc paucis annis edebatur; hic qui nunc sequitur totam bibliothecam complectitur. Ut ista omnibus, qui ei consulere velint, utilior fieret, libri alphabeticè sub diversis capitibus, secundum propria eorum genera, in hoc catalogo disponuntur. Quæcunque errata in hac editione inveniantur, in alterâ castigari possint."

The Catalogue was printed while the Rev. Isaac Smith was Librarian, and was in part prepared by him, on whom the responsibility naturally rests, for the press. In regard to his assistants, when I had written thus far I supposed that I must rest upon conjecture; and I thought it probable that the Rev. Dr. Harris, who was graduated in 1787, and was at the time of its preparation pursuing his studies in theology, or had become a candidate for the ministry, and who succeeded Mr. Smith in the office of Librarian the year after the publication of the Catalogue, was concerned in the work. But after this part of my manuscript had lain by for some time, the whole truth came to light. My first grammar-master and continued friend, Rev. Hezekiah Packard, D.D., died in the year 1849, and in a memoir, "chiefly autobiographical," printed with additions by his children in the year 1850, I find from the father's record of his occupation the second year after he graduated, that is, from July, 1788, to July, 1789, as follows: "I took charge of the Library as an assistant. I was one of three who in the course of that year prepared the first

printed Catalogue of the College Library. The other two were the Rev. Isaac Smith, the Librarian, and Professor Sewall." It was a pleasure to me to find that this learned man had been even temporarily engaged in so useful an undertaking.

The Catalogue made by Mr. Peirce is in two volumes, alphabetically arranged, together with a third volume containing a "Systematic Index," in which are combined the benefits of a classed catalogue, consisting of six classes, with their subdivisions, and abridged titles alphabetically arranged for reference to the full catalogue. The plan is simple, well executed, and very convenient for use, justifying the motto following the title-page: "Scire ubi aliquid possis invenire, magna pars eruditionis est." The Catalogue was printed in the year 1830. The first Supplement was printed in the year 1834, three years after the death of Mr. Peirce; and the second was then promised, containing "the additions to the Library since September 1, 1833." Besides his arduous labors in accomplishing this work, amidst the many interruptions incident to his office as Librarian from visitors, and his occupation at stated times of delivering books to the students, and others, he redeemed time from his domestic occupations and enjoyments, and from what ought to have been given to rest and social relaxation and exercise, to write "A History of Harvard College from its Foundation, in the Year 1636, to the Period of the American Revolution." Although it was not completed and prepared for the press before his death, in the year 1831, yet it was so far advanced, that, in the opinion of his friends, it was judged to be due to the memory of the author, and to the institution which he had so faithfully served, and to the merits of the work, to place the manuscript in the hands of a discreet and learned scholar, for publication. The Honorable John Pickering was induced to become the editor, and the publication was very favorably received. It was the first consecutive history of the College for any long period of its existence, and was published in the year 1833. President Quincy's elaborate History of Harvard University was published in 1840.

The deficiency of the Library in almost every department of literature and science has been a constant matter of regret, and has been dwelt upon in the reports of successive annual committees, appointed to visit it for many years past. But though their hopes have been long deferred, they do not despair of a better time to come, when the cause of regret and of consequent appeals to the public shall cease.

In the year 1801 I was approved as a preacher, and officiated in that capacity in neighboring parishes, and in two instances at a considerable distance, while I remained in the office of Librarian. My visit to Wiscasset in this calling, in January, 1802, I have mentioned in another place. In January, 1804, by invitation of a committee of the Congregational Church in Windsor, in the State of Vermont, I spent the winter vacation in that place, and preached there four Sundays. A special session of the Legislature was held there, during a part of that time, to act upon the proposed amendment of the Constitution of the United States in relation to the manner of choosing the President. Much ingenuity was wasted by the members of the Convention for framing the Constitution, in perfecting, as they thought, the

mode of effecting the choice of President and Vice-President, and purifying the process. They began with the people of necessity, presuming that they would choose their best men for electors, and would rely upon the judgment of their electors, when chosen, to vote in their behalf for the most suitable persons to fill the two first offices; and presuming further, that the candidates for the offices would be about equally fit for President, so that, if the votes of the electors should result in an equal number for the two highest on the list, having a majority, Congress might be trusted to choose between them. This scheme is an example, in a matter of high concern, of the fallacy or worthlessness of a theory, in many cases, that has not been put to the test by trial.

The proposed amendment was merely that of requiring the electors to designate in their votes the candidates for President and Vice-President separately, instead of combining them; so as to avoid the recurrence of the predicament in which Congress had been placed by the equal vote given by the electors for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, in the year 1800. The Democratic party were in favor of the amendment, and the Federalists opposed to it. In the Vermont Legislature the former party had the best cause and the latter the best advocate. Decidedly the ablest speaker in the Vermont Assembly was Lewis R. Morris, nephew, I believe, of Gouverneur Morris. He had been a Representative in Congress from Vermont for six years preceding, that is, during the whole of Mr. Adams's administration and Mr. Jefferson's first term, and consequently had been engaged in the long contested and long doubtful battles of the two parties of the House of Representatives in Congress for deciding the choice between the rivals for the throne. The Vermont Assembly voted for the amendment, as did the requisite majority of the State Legislatures. It was a good change; and doubtless so considered by the generality of the people, after the heat of the moment had passed off. Even had it been more radical, and the choice of President and Vice-President had been left to the people, voting in their primary assemblies, I do not see that any evil consequences would have resulted from it.

On the first or second day after the organization of the assembly, I was waited upon by a committee of that body, announcing to me that I was chosen its Chaplain, with the request that I would officiate in this office daily during its session; to which I assented, and performed the service. The chairman of this committee was Jesse Olds, a graduate of Harvard College in the year 1794. In what part of the State he resided I either never knew, or have forgotten. It has been recently ascertained that he is not living. Besides a pleasant acquaintance formed with several members and families of the parish, I was introduced to the Governor, I. Tichenor, and the Council. The Governor was born and educated in New Jersey, and graduated at Princeton College in the year 1775. He had been one year in the Senate of the United States, 1796–97, and subsequently, after his services in the State of his adoption, he was again elected a Senator in Congress, and served in that body the whole term of six years; namely, from 1815 to 1821. I had frequent agreeable interviews with him, and several times dined in company

with him as a guest at the tables of citizens of the place. He was a gentleman of polished manners, easy of access, and attractive in his countenance and address; somewhat of a courtier indeed, but for wise and honorable purposes. In consequence of these outward graces and the neatness of his person and dress, as I supposed, and not from any want of respect, he was sometimes called, in familiar conversation, the Jersey Slick.

I dined one day with Captain John Henry, who was then resident in Windsor, the Governor and myself being the only guests. I had aforetime been slightly acquainted with Henry, whom I had seen at my father's house, I believe before he was married, and it may be again after his marriage. He was called a handsome man by his female acquaintance, and perhaps was conscious that he was so considered; and was not, I should think, wholly devoid of affectation. But he was a man of wide information, and had seen much of the world; and by his social habits and conversational powers he was a very entertaining companion. He married a daughter of Dr. Duchesne of Philadelphia, a disciple of Swedenborg, and minister of the New Jerusalem Church in that city. Whether Henry was a believer in the doctrines of this church I do not know; but he and his wife appeared to live very happily together, and to harmonize in their mode of rearing their two little daughters. Before these objects of their care were half a dozen years of age, their parents began to speculate upon their idiosyncrasies, discovered by them and partially developed, different also, but not antagonistic; and to shape their plan of education accordingly. This I learned, when, two years after the time of which I am

speaking, I met Henry and his wife at Burlington with their children, and crossed Lake Champlain in company with them in a passage to Canada.

After I parted with Henry in Montreal, in 1806, he gained great notoriety by his cunning device, under the pretence of being a British agent, of having had treasonable intercourse in Boston and elsewhere with the disaffected toward their own government for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws, and, "in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain." He made these factitious disclosures to Mr. Madison, in the year 1811. President Madison gave him fifty thousand dollars for his documentary papers, and communicated the same to Congress, after some delay, in a message written in a loose and confused style, and accompanied by the bundle of papers containing Henry's story. The message and papers were committed, but the committee could find no *proofs* of what was alleged against any persons. The facts undoubtedly were, that Henry, having become poor, and taking advantage of the well-known hostility to the national administration in the commercial cities and towns, enacted this farce for the very purpose of filling his purse; and he took care to get his money for the *treasonable* papers before they were examined by the President. When they were communicated to Congress, Henry had already embarked for France, enjoying his money and his jest, and got beyond the reach of any troublesome questions. Any person wishing for the full details of this shallow business may find a very amusing account of it in a work entitled "Familiar Let-

ters on Public Characters," &c., — anonymous, but well known to have been written by the late Hon. William Sullivan.

Though I have thus wandered far from the dinner-table, I have not forgotten the pleasure of a long sitting thereat. Politics were the order of the day, and there was no want of agreement between the host and his guests.

Towards the close of the session of the Legislature, the Governor made an unexpected demand upon me, with which I was loath to comply. In all our previous interviews, I had regarded myself as wholly his debtor, and this to a great amount. He now requested me to write his proclamation for a day of public fasting and prayer in the coming season throughout the State. Hoping that it was rather a compliment to me than a strenuous wish on his part, I declined the service; but finding him seriously urgent, I complied with the request, and presented to him in due season what I had written. He appeared to be satisfied with it, and I believe made no essential alteration.

With the Hon. Lewis R. Morris (General, I believe, was his military title) I formed a pleasant acquaintance. He was a large landholder in Vermont; but in what part of the State he lived I do not remember.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Anniversary Meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1803. — Proposition made for a Literary Periodical Publication favorably received. — Committee chosen to act on the Subject at their Discretion. — Fears expressed by a Member of the Faculty and of the Corporation of the College on Account of its Origin in a Secret Society. — Sketch of Contemporary History of Societies of Free-Masons and Illuminati in Europe. — Literary Miscellany published in Cambridge. — Writers in the Work.

At the annual meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1803, some gentlemen in the government and instruction of the College, together with other literary gentlemen in Cambridge belonging to the Society, thinking that something was due from it to the cause of learning by means of a public journal, the subject was brought up for consideration, and the project was met by encouraging words. Soon after this periodical was projected, there came to my knowledge some whispers concerning its origin unfavorable to the design, and tending to create suspicion in regard to the purity of its purpose. This was no other than its having derived its first impulse from a secret society.

In the year 1799 there was published in the United States a book printed at Edinburgh about eighteen

months before, entitled, "Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe carried on in the Secret Meetings of the Free-Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies, collected from good Authorities, by John Robinson, A. M., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Secretary to the Royal Society of Edinburgh." Heralded by such a startling title, and coming from an author of such high standing, the work at once excited great curiosity among the reading public. It was found full of documentary proofs of organized societies widely extended on the continent of Europe, hostile to the existing governments and prelatical institutions. The Masonic societies, as they were originally constituted, are not included by the author among those from which these sweeping revolutionary movements sprung. It was in the *occult Masonic societies*, which retained the popular name, that the wild vagaries of a universal religion and universal equality arose, aiming at the subversion of existing institutions of religion and forms of civil government; thus swallowing up Christianity in a pretended philosophical, world-wide religion, and merging patriotism and civil rule in cosmopolitic self-government.

Professor Robinson was himself a member of a Masonic lodge in Scotland, and he enjoyed its social meetings "and decent conviviality, not devoid of some rational occupation." In his visit to Germany, when a young man, and in his change of localities in that wide-spread country, he found in his Masonic relation a ready passport to the German lodges, and consequently formed acquaintance with men of various occupations. Everywhere the introduction of Masonry was acknowledged by the brotherhood to have been derived from Great Britain. He found, indeed, that many novelties had been introduced foreign to its original design, and heard of more than he witnessed; but he neither witnessed nor heard of anything which was not either frivolous, or harmless, or in some measure useful. Though strongly solicited, he was not inclined to become initiated in the higher orders of the craft. At the same time, his curiosity was a good deal excited by the extraordinary interest taken in the fellowship of these higher gradations by men of learning and rank, amounting to a degree of enthusiasm altogether unknown among his own countrymen.

It was not until the year 1795, when by accident he met with a volume of a German work, entitled, *Religions Begebenheiten*, that his attention was particularly drawn to the subject of Masonry, as it existed in Germany, and of its perversions there and in other countries on the continent of Europe. He there found allusion made to schisms in the lodges, and that various subjects of dispute, in politics and religion, had been introduced into them, in violation of "a standing rule, and a declaration made to every newly received brother, that nothing touching the religion or government shall ever be spoken of in the lodge."

Philanthropic imaginings of a world emancipated and renovated by the destruction of the outward restraints of existing governments and religions, and by the coming in of the transcendental reign of reason and of religion, abstracted from all systems, external forms, observances, and teachings, had become matters of zealous discussion as business realities, and reached their maximum

and were concentrated in the order of the Illuminati. This order was founded by Adam Weisshaupt, Professor of Canon Law in the University of Ingolstadt, Bavaria. Reason was the goddess and Weisshaupt was the intellectual, ideal hierarch — for there was no government secular — of this new church of inward light, freedom, and humanity. Kindred societies pervaded the continent, and embraced men of all ranks and conditions. Even Jesuits, who were verbally suppressed as a body by Pope Clement in 1773, in their scattered condition wormed themselves into the societies; particularly in France: and why should they not? Their moral text or axiom was practically, if not avowedly, the same; namely, the end justifies the means. Less numerously did they do this in Germany; there they were soon *out-jesuited*, and, their craft being endangered, they crept out of the snare. The order of Illuminati, which originated in 1775, was, after several rebukes and remonstrances, abolished by the elector of Bavaria in 1786, and Weisshaupt was removed from his Professor's chair and banished from the Bavarian states. But the contagion had spread so widely, that this check was of little avail, and the subjects rallied under the new name of *German Union*.

Nearly simultaneous with Robinson's book was the publication, at Hartford and New York, of "Memoirs illustrating the History of Jacobinism, a Translation from the French of the Abbé Barruel"; a work in three parts, entitled severally, "The Antichristian Conspiracy," "The Anti-monarchical Conspiracy," "The Anti-social Conspiracy." These were all allied, like the kindred societies described by Robinson, and at length centred in the Illuminati, or allied associations for the like purposes under some other name, for the sake of disguise.

The publications I have mentioned produced much excitement in the United States, and not least in Massachusetts. As it was alleged, and truly so, that the prostration of all existing governments and Christian institutions, aimed at by the Illuminati, had its origin in the corruptions superinduced upon Free-Masonry, and further alleged that agents of the Illuminati were busy in Great Britain and the United States in propagating their doctrines through the higher degrees of Masonry, suspicion fastened on the Masonic lodges of those countries, into which the demons of infidelity and political revolution might enter in, if not already there. The same prejudgment extended, in a greater or less degree, to all secret societies.

This is indeed a prolix preamble to a very short statement of certain facts.

The most distinguished alarmist in the neighborhood of Boston, with regard to the matter of secret societies, was the Rev. Dr. Morse of Charlestown. He was, at the time of the excitement against them, one of the Overseers of Harvard College, and bound as such to guard as far as might be against the entrance or spread of any corrupting influences in the institution. But if he was the most vigilant, he was not the only watchman at her portals, as I soon learned.

Not many days after the meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society I mentioned the proceedings of the Society in regard to the proposed miscellaneous publication to the President, merely as a matter of information, and found that I was communicating nothing new; that

Professor Pearson, a member of the Corporation as well as of the Faculty, had, in conversation with him, spoken of the plan, and suggested his fears that it would be injurious to the College. His fears were founded in the fact of its origin in a secret society. Whether he was influenced by personal convictions of danger to the institution from the sentiments and speculations that the proposed work might contain in regard to morals, government, politics, religion, and education, or from prudential considerations due to the prejudices and fears of others, I am not now able to say. But I knew that, whatever matter of public concern he thought it important to sustain or to defeat, he had perseverance enough, waxing even to eloquent enthusiasm, to enlist many adherents. The President did not appear to me to be alarmed at the movement, and nothing more, to my knowledge, was said by him on the subject. Not knowing how far any feeling adverse to the proposed work might exist in any branch of the College government, I took an opportunity to converse freely concerning it with Rev. Dr. Howard, my venerated friend, and my father's most intimate friend, and the oldest member of the Corporation. In his mild, frank, and benevolent manner, he soothed all my apprehensions adverse to pursuing the purpose in which I had engaged with my seniors and contemporaries. Being a youthful member of the Immediate Government of the College, it was with me a matter of feeling, no less than of prudence, to undertake nothing, and to share in no undertakings, which should give offence to any one of that body, or even cause any uneasiness in the minds of gentlemen with whom I sustained pleasant official relations, in addition

to the respect due to them for their age and their personal virtues.

The jealousy with which the Society of Phi Beta Kappa was regarded in the community by not a few, at the time of which I am speaking, may seem strange at this day. Antimasonry, not as the distinctive name of a political party, or a combination of any kind, but as significant of individual feeling and sentiment, was very prevalent. It was conjectured or presumed by some, that the literary society of which I am speaking, with its Greek initials of words unrevealed and unexplained, was an offshoot of some order of Masonry. The fact had not, I believe, leaked out, though it might have been guessed, that the first letter on the medal of this Society is the initial of the Greek word *philosophia;* and no term could engender greater suspicion than *philosophy*, as a word pertaining to the arcana of an unapproachable association. It was canonized as a sainted word in the vocabulary of the French Reformers, and their sympathists among the other nations of the continent of Europe. But after all, this little community of innocent scholars did not long quail under the ban of its jealous foes; and its philosophy, whatever were its short-comings, was not derived, and soon ceased to be suspected of being derived, from that which was the boast of modern reformers, and was not intended to supersede, but to aid, Christian philosophy as the governor and the guide of life.

Out of this movement grew a periodical publication issued quarterly, entitled, "The Literary Miscellany," including dissertations and essays on subjects of literature, science, and morals; biographical and historical

sketches; critical remarks on language, with occasional reviews. The first number was prefaced by a Prospectus that opened a wide field for the labors of literary and scientific men, which was broken up and cultivated to some extent; but after the second annual harvest, slender as it might have been regarded, the market was found to be glutted, the labor was not rewarded, and the field was abandoned.

I have before me a copy of the work, in two volumes octavo, of four hundred pages each, in which I find that a younger brother of mine, not now living, inscribed the names of the authors of a large part of the contributions, and where the names are wanting I think I can supply them, with very few exceptions. All the contributors whose names I can now recall, with this aid, are Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, John Quincy Adams, Rev. Abiel Abbot of Beverly, Professor Levi Hedge, Rev. John Pierce, William Wells, Francis Dana Channing, Rev. William Jenks, John Abbot, Arthur Maynard Walter, Sidney Willard, Parker Cleaveland, Loammi Baldwin, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, Andrews Norton, and John Lovejoy Abbot. These were all members of the Society. A series of communications was contributed, unsought for, by James Winthrop, Esq., comprising five chapters, with the general title, "Primitive History"; and the chapters are entitled, severally, "Of the Geography of the Old World"; "Events from the Creation to the Flood"; "Of the Deluge"; "Of the First Century after the Flood"; "Of the Colonies planted in the Second and Subsequent Centuries." The author of this Primitive History relates many things as matters of history which seem to have

been familiarly known to him, but which were not known before, and have not been confirmed since by any antiquary or historiographer. Whenever convenience required it, he assumed a fact; and a theory was readily hit upon to sustain it to his own satisfaction. His intellectual vision moved in an eccentric orb, and discovered wonders which he offered for the enlightenment of the less gifted. Of these contributors to the Miscellany five are still living.

Here I proceed to name the authors of the several communications printed in the Miscellany, so far as I remember or have been able to ascertain them.

John Quincy Adams was the writer of the Review of Gifford's Translation of Juvenal's Satires. He thus speaks of the difficulties of translating the satires of an ancient classic poet: "The topics of satire are generally of a nature so evanescent, that, after the lapse of a few years, the poet becomes unintelligible to his own countrymen without the aid of a commentator. There are indeed vices and follies so deeply rooted in the soil of human nature, that they are sure of reproduction in every age and every state of society, however frequently levelled by the pruning-hook of satire. But far the greater proportion of the sins which extort the *verses of indignation* are perishable as the sinners who commit them; and as the reformation of those whom he censures is the only proper purpose of the severe moralist, the very attainment of his purpose by removing the objects of his reprobation hurries at once the fault and the punishment towards the same grave of oblivion."

After a close criticism of several passages of the translation, it is the conclusion of the writer, that, "on the

whole, though Mr. Gifford's work may be considered an acquisition to English literature, it has not supplied the want of a good poetical version of Juvenal; nor is there reason to hope that any material improvement of the work should be the result of a future edition. The defects are radical. They proceed from the obvious circumstance, that the author has no ear for harmony, and little poetical fancy."

THADDEUS M. HARRIS, a generous promoter of all laudable literary undertakings, was the writer of the first article, on "Literary and Benevolent Associations," containing general remarks on their ancient origin, and their uses and corruptions; their extension in modern Europe, since the invention of printing, and their introduction into the United States. "Nothing," he says, "has more advanced the progress and extended the boundaries of knowledge, than the zeal and emulation with which men have united in its pursuit. From the comparison and the discussion of the different opinions of different persons there often result those general truths or those particular applications which the sagacity of an individual would never have discovered. Immersed in solitary contemplations, the mind grows torpid. Mental faculties may lie concealed for years in the gloom of unagitated abstraction; but that kind of society of which we speak will give them a vigorous play and a beneficial influence. Thus the flint and steel may remain for ages in unenvied darkness and neglect; their collision strikes out a spark which lights us to their use." He also contributed essays on the following subjects; namely, the Hebrew Language, Jewish Literature, the Talmud, the Vowel-Points, Scripture Geography,

the Chaldee Language, and the Syriac Language. Although he gave good reasons for the pursuit of all these studies, his arguments in favor of the study of the Oriental languages were not then appreciated to such a degree as to produce the desired effect.

A Poem of his on American Patronage, addressed to the Phi Beta Kappa Society at the anniversary meeting, August 29, 1805, was also published in the Miscellany, with his consent. He also wrote the review of Volney's *Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats Unis de l'Amerique.*

REV. ABIEL ABBOT of Beverly was the author of the "Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century," in three numbers, to the title of which is subjoined, in brackets "[Written in the Summer of 1800]," two years before the publication of Miller's elaborate work of the same title.

LEVI HEDGE, then a permanent Tutor of Metaphysics in Harvard College, communicated a portion of an anonymous letter published in London (1798), entitled, "An Examination of the Leading Principle of the New System of Morals, as that Principle is stated and applied in Godwin's Enquiry concerning Political Justice." It contains a strong argument against the utilitarian theory, and is written in a vigorous style, and abounds with appropriate illustrations.

REV. JOHN PIERCE was the author of a series of letters, entitled, "Advice to a Student of Harvard University." The advice is solemn, and the warnings such as, if heeded, would preserve the virtue, encourage the diligence, and promote the literary progress, of young men in a state of pupilage.

FRANCIS DANA CHANNING furnished "A Brief View of the Progress of Literature in Germany," which, he

said, is "an abridgment, from the German Museum, of the rise and progress of literature in Germany." The View closes with the end of the twelfth century. He also communicated short extracts from Jeremy Collier on "Popularity," "The Value of Life," and "Envy," marked by a quaint style, with lively epigrammatic turns of expression, which sometimes please the reader by sudden surprise, and are sometimes very taking from their fertility in analogies or in contrasts. He also made selections from the tract entitled "A Brief Character of the Low Countries under the States; being Three Weeks' Observation of the Virtues and Vices of the Inhabitants," written by Owen Feltham, who "ranked the work," said Mr. Channing, "with his *puerilia*, and considered it too light for a prudential man to publish. We rejoice, however, that the knavery of a bookseller induced his friend to give us a correct edition." It is, indeed, a very remarkable production. It is a mass of sententious periods, full of meaning, and of witty proverbs descriptive of the country, and of its inhabitants, in personal appearance, manners, dress, amusements, occupations, thrift, mode of domestic life, dwelling-houses, furniture, meats and drinks, social intercourse, and various local and national peculiarities. It is unparalleled in its sustained vivacity, its unflagging humor, rising at times in climax from what provokes a smile of pleasurable assent, to the comical, the ludicrous, and the grotesque.

William Wells permitted his "Remarks on Classical Learning" to be printed in the Miscellany. This was a Bowdoin prize dissertation, to which the first prize was adjudged in the author's Senior year. This fact, together with its being an uncommon, if not a solitary instance, in which such an academical performance has been solicited for publication, independently of its solid merits, is ample praise.

William Jenks communicated the "Memoir respecting the Union of the Swiss Cantons, and their Emancipation from the House of Austria." This Memoir, as Mr. Jenks informed his readers, is chiefly translated from a "History of the Helvetic Confederacy, a work of Alexander Louis de Wallville, of the Sovereign Council of the Republic of Berne." The article begins with disproving the traditionary history of William Tell as the chief or leading founder of the Swiss republic; and, though without calling in question his bravery and patriotism, or denying the influence produced by his romantic deeds and by the criminal recklessness of his deliberate murder of Gessner, that inspired others with enthusiasm, yet the claims of Stauffach, Furst, and Melchtal to be regarded as the forwarders, or rather restorers, of the ancient freedom of the Swiss states, in the year 1307, are maintained to be decisive. Mr. Jenks also communicated a short poem, entitled, "Fame; from an Unpublished Manuscript." He himself was the author. The addition of his name would have done him no discredit.

John Abbot, resident at Cambridge in 1805, wrote the article entitled, "Observations tending to show the Inefficacy of Laws designed to regulate the Interest of Money." The argument is concise, clear, logical, and conclusive. The use of such laws, so far as they are favorable to the public, is confined to corporate banking institutions, and to the regulation of interest, where the rate is not expressed in promissory notes.

Arthur Maynard Walter was the author of three essays, signed Visconti. The first is on "The Influence

of Religion upon the Fine Arts." It is addressed from Paris, August, 1804, to an intimate American friend and contemporary, then in London, who was not merely a a connoisseur, but an artist to some extent, practically, though not by profession. It was written immediately after he had visited the Louvre, while the inspiration was fresh, and the author was glowing with the fervor of unaffected enthusiasm. The second essay is an "Apology for Epicurism"; not for the Epicurean philosophy in its full extension, but for the philosophy of good eating, of the dainties of the table; and this not to countenance the grossness of the *gourmand*, but to give due praise to the art of that delicate preparation of viands and esculents which promotes temperance rather than excess. The third is on "The Present State of English Poetry," that is, half a century ago, when Cowper's labors were ended, and among his successors "no brother bard had great pretensions to excellence," in the writer's opinion. Critics were then hardly beginning to allow him any merit, and long afterwards the number was few who allowed anything to his simplicity and love of nature but a childish simplicity.

SIDNEY WILLARD contributed his full share in the sum of pages; namely, "A Brief Sketch of the Life, Character, and Writings of Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., Pastor of the West Church in Boston"; "Remarks on English Translations of the Roman Poets"; three short essays, namely, 1. "An Enquiry whether Hexameter Verse can be successfully introduced into English Poetry"; 2. "Patronage of Genius"; 3. Under the motto, *Secludite curas*, "Sketch of Voltaire," translated from the French; a translation of one of Martial's Epigrams, Lib. XII. 34; and some short notices of books.

PARKER CLEAVELAND, then a Tutor in Harvard College, wrote the review of the American Gazetteer, compiled from the best Authorities, by Jedediah Morse, D.D. He also wrote the review of Darwin's poem, entitled, "The Temple of Nature, or the Origin of Society." Although the reviewer does not approve the attempt to "blend philosophy and imagination," as his author professedly aimed to do, yet he has showed in his own person, while he was in the rapid ascent to the temple of fame, through the rugged paths of physical science, that he had not become estranged from Parnassus, and that his affections were not alienated from the Muses, however rarely he might have invoked their presence.

LOAMMI BALDWIN wrote the "Original Memoirs of Benjamin Count of Rumford, with some Account of his Writings, Philosophical Improvements, &c." This is probably the fullest biographical account of this distinguished man, from his early youth to the time when the "Original Memoirs" were written, that anywhere exists.*

* As the boy, to make use of a common and expressive proverb, is father to the man, a brief abstract from these memoirs, extending from the childhood of Benjamin Thompson to the time when he went to England, where he received his first office and title of distinction, may well be inserted here. Mr. Baldwin, his biographer, knew more, as I believe, of the history and occupations of Thompson, up to that time, than any other man. Loammi Baldwin, the father of the author, was of about the same age as Thompson, an intimate friend of his, and of similar tastes. Mr. Baldwin was well known for many years, while Sheriff of Middlesex, as the engineer of the Middlesex Canal, as the constant inspector of the workmen and the works, and was relied upon for his persevering efforts in advancing and bringing the work to a conclusion, under

JOSEPH STEVENS BUCKMINSTER wrote the review of Miller's "Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century," published in 1803. We find in it that easy, graceful flow of thought, and that same natural, beautiful, and luminous dress in which it is clothed, that are found in all his writings. It is a very discriminating review. The reviewer's praise of the author, where praise was generally due, was as generous and hearty

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circumstances which would have discouraged almost any other man, even of the same philosophical and practical knowledge, in the midst of the undertaking. Loammi Baldwin, Jr. had the same inherent love of mechanical and philosophical pursuits, and, many years before his death, became a civil engineer, distinguished, if not unsurpassed by any other in the United States. He had the benefit of all his father's recollections of Thompson until his own adult age, and up to the time when he wrote the Memoirs.

Benjamin Thompson was born at Woburn, in Massachusetts, on the 26th of March, 1753. The bent of his mind was indicated by the early occupations of his choice; his hours for play being employed more in mechanical contrivances, either imitative or inventive, than in the common sports of boyhood. In addition to the elementary instruction of the schools, he devoted much time to the solitary study of Arithmetic and Mathematics, and made advances far beyond his fellows of the same age. His father died when he was but two or three years of age, and when his appointed guardian thought that the school days of his ward had been sufficiently prolonged, and that his age and improvement were such as made it a duty to put him on the road to self-support, he was first placed with a physician, with whom he remained a few months, — it does not appear in what capacity, — and during the intervals of study amused himself by making surgical instruments. Thence he was transferred to a merchant's counting-room in Salem. But he acquired no taste for its business, and "was more frequently found with a penknife, file, and gimlet under the counter, than with his pen and account-books in the counting-room." In one of his chemical experiments in a leisure hour, he was seriously injured by the explosion of some nitrous oxide, in his preparation for making rockets. During the hours not confined to the counting-room he continued with

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ardor his studies of mathematics and mechanics, and became possessed by the demon of perpetual motion. He felt so assured that this deluder which had thus engrossed his imagination was a sure guide, that he travelled from Salem to Woburn in the night-time, the only time that was his own, to demonstrate the discovery to his friend and schoolfellow, Baldwin. How long it was before this evil spirit was exorcised, it does not appear. Among other things to fill his leisure hours, he betook himself to engraving upon a small scale, and acquired the art of engraving on copper-plate. Not reconciled to mercantile business as a chosen future pursuit, in less than two years he left his clerkship, in which, perhaps, he had not gained favor, and returned to his mother in Woburn.

"He was received by his acquaintance with unwelcome pity, as an unfortunate young man, who could not fix his mind on any regular employment." Still he was eager for knowledge, which he fed upon, but which his friends probably did not believe would long feed him. "In the year 1770, when the lectures in experimental philosophy for that year began at Harvard College, his friend [Baldwin], who had the like fondness for philosophical experiments, obtained leave to attend them; and Thompson, learning this fact, also obtained this peculiar, and unusual, favor. Each day, after attending these lectures of Professor Winthrop, they returned to Woburn on foot." This did not indicate a zeal quite so fervent as that which stimulated some of our Puritan ancestors to walk from Ipswich to Boston to attend the weekly Thursday Lecture; but in each case it showed that they were in pursuit of a pearl of great price. And as the young philosophers "strove by a clumsy apparatus to repeat the Professor's experiments" for their own benefit, so it may be presumed that the sturdy Puritan gave his clumsy analysis of the sermon, and added his homiletic improvement for the benefit of his neighbors.

In the year 1772, Mr. Thompson taught a school at Bradford

as his own noble nature, and his dispraise, where he spied errors, which, by his wide reading and study and faithful memory, he was enabled readily to detect, or deficiencies which he was able to supply, was as

for a few months, and afterwards at Concord, N. H., where he became acquainted with the widow of Colonel Rolfe, to whom he was afterwards married. Thus happily ended his school-keeping. Mrs. Rolfe was a lady, it was said, of great personal charms and abundant wealth. But domestic pleasures and private acquirements in philosophical knowledge did not fill and satisfy the mind of Thompson. He now evidently had a desire of distinction, which equalled his eager pursuit of knowledge, and testimonies of public favor and applause were coveted as necessities to crown his happiness. In the course of two years, he returned to his mother's house at Woburn. In the mean time, he had been blessed by the birth of a daughter, and there is no allusion by his biographer to any alienation of affection between him and his wife, on either side, before or after this event. But while the Revolutionary flame was kindling in all parts of Massachusetts, in 1774, he was suspected by the Whigs, perhaps from his hesitancy in taking sides, of inclination to the Tory party. He seems, however, to have been rather on neutral ground, watching his opportunity. He had just been roused from his solitary philosophical pursuits by the turmoil around him, and had received some flattering attentions from the Loyalists, particularly from Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, who had offered him a Major's commission, which it does not appear that he accepted. His person and personal address were attractive. Had he taken the local, patriotic ground before suspicion,

"With its jealous leer malign,
Eyed him askance,"

the military ambition which had begun to kindle within him might in all probability have been soon gratified, then justified by success, and finally rewarded by fame. But the die was cast. "He that is not for us is against us," said the Whigs; "we brook no delay;

mild and gentle as the unborn kindness of his temper, and was marked by that untrained, unconscious simplicity for which, as a scholar, a divine, a companion, or a man of the world, he was remarkable in all his words and deeds.

'We shall admit no parley;
A rotten case abides no handling.'"

The brand was upon him. He was subjected to an examination by a court of inquiry at Woburn, and was acquitted of the charges alleged against him. In 1775, when the American troops were stationed at Cambridge, he resided there for some time, and rendered efficient aid in removing the College library and apparatus to Concord. The College he remembered for a previous favor received, and the martial movements of the army excited his interest, as a fresh and earnest student in the military art. Having been prejudged by neighbors and former friends of disloyalty to the Whig cause, and probably irritated by a public investigation, — his ambition also having mastered his patience, and reaching wider than all local attachments, — he abandoned these, and embarked for England in January, 1776.

Having extended this note much beyond my first intention, I add nothing of my own respecting the fame he acquired and the distinction bestowed upon him in foreign lands as a philanthropist and a man of practical science; adopting instead the brief summary of President Quincy in the History of Harvard University.

"In 1776, he sailed for England, where his address and genius soon created friends and found patrons. He immediately obtained a colonelcy in the British army, was appointed an Under Secretary of State, and elected a member of the Royal Society and French Institute; and, having transferred his residence to Germany, he became a favorite with the reigning Duke of Bavaria, who constituted him a Lieutenant-General in St. Stanislaus, and finally raised him to the dignity of a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, with the title of Rumford, taken from the original name of Concord, in New Hampshire, the place of his early residence. His zeal and success in rendering science subservient to the com-

He translated "An Idyl of Meleager on Spring." He also translated "the following lines, intended to have been placed under a statue of Somnus":—

"Somne veni; quanquam certissima mortis imago
Consortem cupio te tamen esse tui
Huc ades, haud abiture cito; nam sic sine vitâ
Vivere quam suave est, sic sine morte mori."

"Thee, Sleep, thou image just of death, I greet!
Come, share my couch, and on my bosom lie!
Haste then; but leave me late; for O how sweet
To live thus lifeless, and thus living die!"

Andrews Norton, then eighteen years of age, wrote the "Observations on the Life and Writings of William Cowper," of whom he spoke as one "who, in the literary degeneracy of the age, had preserved some portion of the

fort, happiness, and improvement of mankind acquired for him the esteem of the great, and the blessing of the unfortunate. Learned men in France and England vied with each other in paying tribute to his talents and usefulness. In 1796, he transmitted five thousand dollars in three per cent. stocks to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the income to be appropriated as a premium to the author of the most important discovery on light and heat. He died at Auteuil, near Paris, in 1814; and by his last will laid the foundation of that professorship which has rendered his memory justly precious with the friends of this University."

Thus he, whose whole public education was acquired in a district school of a country village in Massachusetts, and by attending one course of philosophical lectures given by Professor Winthrop of Harvard College, obtained a world-wide reputation, at the same time that he cherished the memory of Massachusetts, which he had left in the distress of provincial revolution, and lived long enough to look upon as a commonwealth advancing rapidly in population, wealth, and learning.

vigor of our forefathers, and approached towards the simplicity of the ancients. A few months afterwards he wrote the notice of a Sermon of Henry Ware of Hingham, "delivered at Scituate, October 31, 1804," entitled, "The Service of God, as inculcated in the Bible, our Reasonable Choice." "He," said the young writer, "who has been wearied by the glare of modern sophistry and declamation, may be refreshed by the prospect which this Sermon discloses of the beauty and purity of the Gospel."

The names of all these contributors to the Miscellany may be found in the College Catalogue of graduates, in the order in which they are here introduced, except the name of Arthur Maynard Walter, who is spoken of in another place as having finished the course of study in the class graduated in 1798, but who, for reasons mentioned, did not receive his degree.

There are some short essays, which I believe were taken from the files of the literary papers of the undergraduates, members of the Phi Beta Kappa, which were read in their weekly meetings, the authors of which cannot now be ascertained. One of these, entitled, "Comparison of the Ancients and Moderns," with the motto, *Cedite Græci et Romani*, has been ascribed to Francis Lightfoot Lee, of the class graduated in 1802. I remember having made this selection from the files of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and the impression on my mind is, that this essay was written by Benjamin R. Nichols, of the class of 1804.

I had written thus far, when I learned that the late Professor Andrews Norton had noted in his copy of the Miscellany the names of most of the authors of the

several articles; and having been favored with the use of it by the kindness of Mr. Charles E. Norton, I am enabled to make the following additions.

CHARLES COFFIN, a graduate of Harvard College, 1793, was the author of the poem entitled "An Undevout Astronomer is Mad."

PETER O. THACHER was the author of the essay entitled "Requisites for an Orator."

SAMUEL COOPER THACHER, of the review of "Letters from London, by William Austin"; also of "Remarks on Charles I."

DANIEL APPLETON WHITE, of "Remarks on Memoirs of Solomon Gessner."

WILLIAM ALLEN, of the Notice of La Harpe's "Cours de Literature Ancienne et Moderne."

JOHN THORNTON KIRKLAND, of "Natural History, with an Account of the Professorship for this Science recently founded at the University in Cambridge."

ANDREWS NORTON, of the Translation of Horace, B. i. Od. 38: *Persicos odi*, etc. Also of Horace, B. i. Od. 5: *Quis multâ gracilis*, etc.

> "What slender youth around thy charms,
> Perfumed * with odors, twines his arms."

I find in Mr. Norton's copy *perfumed* stricken out and *bedewed* restored, as in the margin, in his own handwriting, and with no comment. This is the better reading. The substituted reading is too nearly tautological.

* Bedewed, so in MS.

CHAPTER XXV.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Literary Miscellany. — No Avowed Responsibility for its Management. — Loss of the Record of its Doings at the Annual Meetings of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. — Nothing in the Prospectus that indicates its Origin. — Monthly Anthology. — History of its Origin and Progress. — No Rivalry between it and the Miscellany. — Anthology Society formed. — Notices of some of its Members. — Account of its Constitution and Early Doings, to be resumed in the Sequel. — The Literary Miscellany discontinued, after the Completion of Two Volumes.

THE connection of the Literary Miscellany with the Society of the Phi Beta Kappa was little more than nominal. It was at the annual meeting in the year 1803 that the subject of a literary periodical publication was proposed and sanctioned by a vote of the Society, and a committee was chosen with full powers to carry it into effect; but no name or plan of such a work was offered for consideration. All was left to the discretion of the committee, to provide and arrange the materials, and take all the responsibility of the publication. I was at that time the Recording and Corresponding Secretary of the Society, which office I held seven years, beginning with July, 1800. The duty of the member of the Society

who held it was then, as it still is, to record the doings at the annual meetings, and to correspond with other associated societies as occasion should require, and to give notices of their election to persons chosen members of the Society at such meetings. When I inquired, a year or two ago, for the book of records of the proceedings at the annual meetings, it was not to be found. Certainly this ought not so to be. Half a century is not a long period for the saving and safe-keeping of records, that should lie undisturbed from year to year, with the exception of being produced at the anniversary meeting of the society to which they belong. There had been no conflagration of the College halls, and no vandalism within them, during that period, and there could be no difficulty, one would think, in ascertaining who last of the secretaries had been in possession of the book, for which he was accountable.

The proposition made at the annual meeting I have mentioned, in regard to a periodical publication which should emanate from the Society, I think was made by me, having previously consulted with some of my contemporaries in office at College, and other members of the Society. But nothing of these preliminary matters appears in the work itself. Among the persons nominated and approved for conducting the work were Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris of Dorchester, Mr. William Jenks, teacher of a private classical school and reader in the Episcopal Church in Cambridge, Professor Hedge, Parker Cleaveland, a Tutor in College, and myself. This was the beginning and the end of the proceedings of the Society in the matter; and though the Society as such was not recognized in the "Prospectus" introductory to

the work, its members were expected to be its special patrons. Mr. Harris wrote the Prospectus, and opened a wide field for laborers, in which he himself set an example of industry worthy of imitation, and, in enumerating the branches of labor, gave opportunities of choice suited to the variety of taste in those who possessed capacity and learning enough to justify their choice.

There was no competition or rivalry, on the part of the projectors and conductors of the Miscellany, with those engaged in any other periodical work. The Massachusetts Magazine had expired; the Portfolio was published in a distant State; and the Anthology was yet in embryo. If it had a prophetic existence, no flower or fruit had yet appeared. "The Loiterer," however long was the time that he had been on his way, did not begin to count his numbers in print until November, 1803, at which time, in the first month of the Anthology's existence, he announced himself on the first page as No. I.; thereby implying that he should appear again in one or more numbers. This was four months after the proceedings of the society of Phi Beta Kappa before mentioned. For six months the Anthology was conducted by the editor who commenced it, Phineas Adams,* (a graduate of Harvard College in the year

* I learned more particularly than I had before known or remembered the history of Adams, after his failure as editor of the Anthology, and his employment as a teacher of the young in various places, until, in 1811, he entered the navy as Chaplain, from a note in the Hon. Josiah Quincy's History of the Boston Athenæum, where he speaks of the Anthology Society as the founder of that institution. "In 1812, he accompanied Commodore Porter, on board the frigate Essex, in his eventful cruise in the

1801,) under the fictitious name, *Sylvanus Per-se.* Adams was reputed at College by his contemporaries to be much more conversant with English literature than was usually the case among his fellow-students. But the circumstances under which he engaged in his editorial enterprise were disadvantageous, and neither he nor his printer, E. Lincoln, had sufficient means to carry on the work, with the uncertain and gradual increase of subscribers, which fell short of the number on which they relied for remuneration. Adams therefore relinquished the undertaking, in which he had embarked with the firm purpose of making a fair experiment, after issuing the sixth monthly number, for April, 1804. The Anthology did not present to the public its flowers, which were collected in their season, until the last month of autumn, 1803; the Literary Miscellany exhibited its first fruits in the month of July, 1804. Their

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Pacific, of which the published 'Journal' bears honorable testimony to Mr. Adams's zeal for promoting geographical and mathematical knowledge.' His love of intellectual pursuits accompanied him in every clime, and by his example he maintained their dignity and interest under all the unfavorable circumstances of a naval life. He never again resided in New England. Rejoining his old commander in his expedition for the suppression of piracy in the West Indies, he died on that station in the year 1823, much respected in the service. Invincible diffidence and an excitable temperament were the occasion of great eccentricity of manners; but a warm heart, sound sense, high purposes, and a strong will did credit to his New England origin, and made him a remarkable person with those among whom his lot was cast. Out of regard to Commodore David Porter, he prefixed *David* to his own name, and thus it now stands in the College Catalogue."

respective repositories were open for receiving literary contributions almost simultaneously. No meditated rivalry, I am confident, existed between those engaged in the two periodicals at their commencement, nor at the time of the editorial change of the Anthology, which soon followed. In the last number of this work, which was edited by Sylvanus Per-se, and printed and sold by E. Lincoln, namely, in April, 1804, notice is not given of any change of editor, nor in the following number, except what may be inferred from the negative evidence indicated by the omission of the assumed name. The last seven numbers of the first volume, May to November, 1804, inclusive, with an addition for December not numbered, were edited by Rev. William Emerson and his associates. Munroe and Francis, after Mr. Adams abandoned the editorial chair, persuaded the Rev. William Emerson, if they could assume the work, to become its editor. Arrangements were immediately made, and Mr. Emerson, minister of the First Congregational Church in Boston, distinguished for his literary and professional standing, enlisted several coadjutors in the undertaking; and in consequence of this change, which became known, (as curiosity in all such cases will cause to be revealed what is not hidden by stringent obligations to secrecy,) public attention was more widely attracted to the work, and its patrons soon increased to such an extent as to relieve its editors and publishers from all anxieties about its continuance.

But, my readers, let me say, if you are *many*, few of you could know, after the lapse of half a century, who was the father of the Anthology, or who, when the child was deserted, took compassion on it, without the expla-

nation above written, or a similar one from some other quarter. In no other way could you learn who christened the child, sweetly named Anthology, then cherished it for a few short months, and then, from necessity, deserted it,

"Of fortune and of hope at once forlorn";

or who it was that took pity on the foundling, and, calling others to his aid, nourished it with wholesome food, and brought it up by their guidance, unconsciously, but, under Providence, unperceived in its operations and in its issues beyond all human prescience, to become instrumental in laying the foundation on which was reared one of the noblest institutions that adorn our country; which grew, from a small stock of magazines and reviews, to a small library for the use of the club, from this to the Anthology Reading-Room for the public, and, last, to the Boston Athenæum.

Hear what these humane and disinterested men, too modest to use any other name than We, (the shortest and yet the most comprehensive name,) say of the perils of their adopted child, from which they rescued it, and gave it shelter. I quote the first paragraph.*

"Although we have the feelings of a parent for the publication before us, yet it may be proper to declare to the world, that it is not indebted to us for its birth, nor was it born in our house. We knew neither its father nor mother, nor hardly of its existence, until,

* "Preface" to the first volume of the Anthology, embracing the six numbers edited by Sylvanus Per-se, and the remaining numbers (anonymous) by Mr. Emerson and his associates, — dated Boston, January 1, 1805.

naked, hungry, and helpless, it was brought and laid at our door. Pity for its orphan state bade us, for the moment, give it shelter and nourishment. In proportion as it engaged our care, it won our affections. We began to provide for its maintenance, and what we were unable to afford ourselves was supplied by the contributions of charity. It seemed grateful for the care of its patrons, and tried to reward our beneficence by its smiles and prattle. The older it grew, the more it was caressed. We carried it into the parlors of our friends, who, praising it as a child of beauty and promise, predicted its eminence in the world."

The first volume of the Anthology closed with the close of the year 1804; but it was sustained nine months longer, under the same management, until October, 1805. On the third day of this month, Mr. Emerson, together with several gentlemen who had co-operated with him, and some, probably, who had not, formed a society for conducting "The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review." This was the full title given to the work by Mr. Emerson, in the number for August, 1804, and thus it continued to be. The original title was, "The Monthly Anthology; or Magazine of Polite Literature." When Mr. Emerson rescued the work from perdition, he changed the title in the first three numbers, May, June, and July, to "The Monthly Anthology, or Massachusetts Magazine"; and in August, as before mentioned, into "The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review," followed by no change during the remainder of its lifetime.

The society formed for conducting the Anthology, commonly called the Anthology Club, consisted, at the

time of its organization, October 3, 1805, of fourteen members; namely, John Sylvester John Gardiner, William Emerson, Arthur Maynard Walter, William Smith Shaw, Samuel Cooper Thacher, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, Joseph Tuckerman, William Tudor, Jr., Peter Thacher, Thomas Gray, William Wells, Edmund Trowbridge Dana, John Collins Warren, James Jackson. At that time a constitution was formed and adopted, and the following gentlemen were chosen to fill the offices named in this instrument; namely, J. S. J. Gardiner, President; William Emerson, Vice-President; Arthur M. Walter, Secretary; William S. Shaw, Treasurer; and Samuel C. Thacher, Editor. It was also provided, that there should be a standing committee chosen annually to manage the prudential affairs of the society, and an auditing committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts, each of these two committees to consist of three members, and to report quarterly.

The Secretary's records were kept with great exactness, and he was a very useful and active member of the society in regard to its business affairs, no less than an ornament to it as a brilliant scholar and an eloquent writer. The Secretary and Treasurer, Walter and Shaw, were my classmates in College; but, as I said in speaking of the members of the class severally, Walter, in the distribution of parts for the Commencement exhibition, was dissatisfied with the part assigned him by the Faculty, and his father perhaps still more so. However it may have been, there was a concurrence of feeling between them that rendered the decision of Arthur Maynard absolute not to perform the part, and this with full knowledge of the alternative; namely, the performance or the forfeiture of his degree. Still, desirous of receiving this academic honor, he spent a year at Columbia College, New York, and was admitted to a degree in 1799, "with the highest honors of the institution, and with the reputation of being one of the most distinguished Alumni." Returning to Boston, he studied law in the office of the Hon. Samuel Dexter.

Mr. Quincy, in his "Biographical Notices of Founders of the Boston Athenæum," acknowledges himself indebted, in the notice of Walter, to Mrs. Cornelia Walter Richards, niece of Arthur, who favored him with a sketch she had prepared of her uncle's life; from which Mr. Quincy says he "derived great assistance." It appears that Walter kept a journal in the days of his early life, to the close of his professional study in 1802, when, if he had so wished, he might have been admitted to the bar. He was then twenty-two years of age, and chose to make further preparation for entering upon active professional life. "My property," he said, in his journal, "is sufficient to bear my expenses in a Southern journey to Washington, and other cities in other States, as well as to Europe. I shall go to London. I am to provide a law-library, which is indispensably necessary; and I intend also to procure a good scientific and literary collection for my hours of variation of study. I shall have to see mankind in new situations, to improve my mind in the numerous scenes to which I shall be a party; and, under the guidance of Heaven, I hope my time will not be lost, as it regards either the acquisition of knowledge or the improvement of opinion."

I am not sure that eminence as a jurist and a legal counsellor and advocate was the summit of Walter's ambition. Political and parliamentary history, and the

lives and writings of statesmen, had a great charm for him in his reading and study, next to, or accompanied and intermingled with, classical literature. In recurring again to his proposed foreign travel and purchase of a library, he said: "Literature is my object. I shall buy a good library in London. I shall spend fifteen hundred dollars in law-books, and a private, choice collection. I mean to buy the corner-stones of learning. These must support the building; and others, gradually attained, must contribute to its strength and beauty. The gigantic names of Cudworth, Locke, Milton, Selden, and others, will be first obtained, and, if my money be sufficient, my library will not be small. There is a pathway open in this country to a goodly land. I mean to offer my passport at the turnpike gate. I mean steadily to study when I return from Europe. Diligence alone can add greatness to genius, or produce respectability when talent is wanting. Nothing can supply its place. Imagination, without the sense acquired by industry to restrain and embellish it, is nothing but a wild hippogriff, that plays fantastically in the high heavens, and amuses children with its freaks and vagaries. And what is *wit* even, unless illuminated by knowledge? Acquired by study indeed, it amuses for a little while; but mere wit is contemptible. . . . . All knowledge must be acquired from books, conversation, or reflections upon human nature. Genius may quicken progress and give energy to our researches; it may illuminate what is obscure. But to know what have been the collected treasures of the old countries, to investigate our nature by their productions, to measure the mind by the stores of intellect which former ages

have furnished, to know how to systematize our researches, how to direct our inquiries, can be only learned from books, by continued perseverance in our studies, and by indefatigable diligence in exploring what has been discovered. While I pursue these studies, may I not neglect that religion which is the polestar of virtue. I hope to live as becomes a man, a student, and a scholar."

These views, recorded by a young man who had just reached his majority, if not earlier, only for his own eye and that of the OMNISCIENT ONE, show how justly he appreciated a select library suited to the professional man and the scholar, and how competent he was, as a learned, thoughtful, intellectual, moral, and religious man, to make the selection.

Walter embarked for England in November, 1802. His residence in London, and a short time in Paris, with other travels in Europe, occupied nearly two years. Arrived at London, he joined his friends Edmund Trowbridge Dana, Washington Allston, and William Austin, who had gone there before him. Benjamin Welles, and his elder brother, Samuel, then, or soon after, were there; and probably while Walter remained there, Charles Lowell was in London for some time, although he spent the greater part of his time in Scotland. It is remarkable, that seven young American republicans and scholars, differing from each other but a few years in age, all educated at Harvard College,* and all

* Mr. Dana, and Mr. Walter also, as I have mentioned before, left College without taking their degree; Dana in his Junior year.

residents in the same neighborhood when at home, — in Boston and its immediate vicinity, — should, without previous concert, meet in this great mother city. The four first named had their rooms in London, each in a different place, but not so remote one from another as to prevent their daily intercourse. Allston was already an artist, though professedly a student, but soon became known and caressed as an eminent painter. Dana was an amateur in the art, and became an artist in fact, for his own pleasure, but not in profession. Walter was a connoisseur, but his main objects were diverse. Both he and Austin took great interest in politics, and while Parliament was in session were constant attendants in the galleries to hear the debates.

Walter was in Paris in the month of August, 1804. How long he was there, or in any other city of France, or elsewhere on the Continent, I am not able to say. About the close of that month, however, or soon after, he embarked for home, where he arrived in the autumn of that year. While abroad, he was not an idle wanderer, or a mere sight-seer, although he delighted in finished works of art. An essay which he communicated for the Literary Miscellany, after he returned from Europe, opens with a spirited description of his visit to the Louvre, and the change of feeling produced within him as he passed from one to another of the masterpieces of sculpture within its walls. It appears to have been written as a letter to one of his most intimate friends, whom he left in England. In preparing it for insertion in the Miscellany, he gave it the following title, "On the Influence of Religion upon the Fine Arts," and signed it "VISCONTI."

"Paris, August, 1804.

"I have just quitted the remnants of ancient taste. I have been admiring the efforts of genius, and have been lost in contemplating the creative energies of man, as displayed in the beautiful and sublime beings who inhabit the Louvre. The grand colossal statue of *La Pallas de Velletri* almost demanded adoration; but that feeling was quickly lost, and confounded in the mysterious sensations which originated from beholding the curves and contours of the *Venus de Medici*. The sentiment of perfect beauty, which enraptured my mind and elevated my fancy, soon gave way to a kind of pity, a still sorrow, a silent reverence, and a profound admiration for the *Laocoön*. I turned from this group, and at the end of another hall I beheld the *Apollo of Belvidere*. There was no one with me in the room, and I was thus at liberty to commune with my own heart. My intellectual nature expanded, and my whole system underwent a revolution as extraordinary, as the change in the animal frame, when the lungs riot in the oxygenated gas of the chemists. I mean not now to describe this statue. I leave you to your imagination. But I may say without poetry, that I have been in the company of heroes, at the banquet of the gods, in the presence of Venus and the Graces. Well might Hercules, Theseus, and the princes of Greece aspire to be the benefactors of mankind, when after death they were to be introduced to the society of immortals, to the councils of divinities; when they were to breathe the pure air of the Empyreum, and delight in the dance of the Hours, and listen to the song of the Muses, accompanied by the lyre of Apollo. Such was the fascinating mythology of the first ages. Such was the religion of Ionia

and Achaia, which, however it might have been secretly despised by Socrates, explained by the philosophers, or derided in the dark celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, inspired with courage and virtue the founders of the Grecian principalities, and animated the fancy of Homer to the sublimest elevation in epic poetry, and taught the grand lyre of Timotheus to fill the air with uncommon combinations of sound.

"I am disposed to attribute much of the excellence of the fine arts and of poetry to the power of religion. In every age and country this has been a presiding cause over rude essays and finished inventions in all the departments of taste. The most barbarous nations paint and carve their divinities before they attempt other subjects. This probably arises from superstition and idolatry. As they are seldom capable of abstraction, or rational conception of the unknown God, they are obliged to have recourse to their senses in order to form the most humble notions of his nature."

He speaks of the harmonious system of the Grecian mythology as giving facility to the artists in the conception and execution of their work, and confines himself to the fine arts of Greece.

In closing his letter, the writer adds: "I have said nothing on the religious purposes of the pictures and images; on the protection afforded by the deities to those cities which honored them with the most august representations. I have not touched on the low state of the fine arts among the Persians, which originated unquestionably from the nature of their mythology, so different from the Greek system. No mention has been made of the effect of Christianity on painting, so nobly evidenced in the Madonna and in the Saviour by Raphael, Correggio, Guido, and Leonardo da Vinci. Had I extended my disquisition to these topics, I might have strengthened my arguments, but perhaps I should not have augmented your knowledge, or your pleasure. But it is now dinner-time. A—— and W—— are waiting for me at Beauvillier's Hotel; and, while we are feasting on carp, and drinking mellow Burgundy, our pleasant sensations will be increased by the hope that you, D——, are rioting at Slaughter's on widgeon and cool port."

Mr. E. T. Dana does not remember ever seeing this letter (you, D——, can mean no other); but he does remember having sometimes dined "at Slaughter's on widgeon."

Of the fourteen associates of the Anthology Society, under the constitution which they adopted, there were several besides Walter who wrote for the Literary Miscellany. I have mentioned them among the contributors to the work; namely, Buckminster, Peter and Samuel C. Thacher, and William Tudor. Of Tudor, however, I did not speak with absolute certainty as the translator of "Memoirs of the Author of Anacharsis." But I well remember, in an interview with him in his library in Boston, a conversation about Barthelemy, the author of the Travels of Anacharsis, and his showing me this work, and speaking of it in terms of high commendation. It has always been my impression that he communicated the translation for insertion in the Miscellany,* with the following introduction:—

* The only confirmation that occurs to me of the correctness of my memory in regard to the author of this translation is, that

"That department of the Literary Miscellany which may be devoted to Biography cannot, perhaps, be filled with a more interesting life than that of the celebrated author of *The Travels of Anacharsis;* a work equally familiar to the polite scholar and the lover of ancient learning, both in Europe and America. The present account is translated from the last French edition of the Travels of Anacharsis, and is contained in three memoirs, written by the Abbé Barthelemy himself, when his age and the misfortune of the Revolution had turned him from other employments.

"The translator presumes it has not yet appeared in our language, as he has not been able to find it in the last English edition of Anacharsis in this country. To preserve the admirable style of the author requires an abler hand, but he hopes that even in its present dress it will afford pleasure and instruction to the reader."

The Monthly Anthology, after the organization of the society, in October, 1805, had a great advantage over the Literary Miscellany, in consequence of the *esprit de corps* thus generated. The latter was about to lose two of its contributors in Cambridge, and could not depend upon the prompt aid of those who resided elsewhere; so that with the second volume, which was completed and published a few months after this change in affairs in the Anthology, it expired.

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the translator's marginal notes are signed "T."; that from some of these notes it is evident that the translator had travelled in Europe, and that he was a man of learning, familiarly acquainted, as a scholar, with the French language, and a fluent, correct writer of English.

In the sequel, I shall have occasion to say something more of the Anthology Society, and of what was accomplished by it after I became a member, at the beginning of the year 1807. It gained something by the death of the Miscellany; but if it had gained all its subscribers, it would still have been poor. The members of the society worked for nothing, and paid for their place of meeting and simple evening refreshment from their own pockets; and besides the light imparted by their writings, they expended the small profits they received from their periodical publication in books of useful and entertaining knowledge, which passed from them to the public.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

The Vacancy in the Hollis Professorship not filled. — Division in Theological Opinions in the Corporation an Obstacle in coming to the Choice of a Successor to Dr. Tappan. — The Intentions of Hollis, the Founder. — Professor chosen in February, 1805, after President Willard's Death, when Professor Pearson was called to preside for the Time being in the Corporation and Immediate Government. — His Opposition to the Choice. — The Opposition to the same in the Overseers' Board by Dr. Morse. — Fisher Ames chosen President, December 11, 1805. — He declines. — Professor Webber chosen in March, 1806. — Professor Pearson resigns his Offices of Professor and Fellow of the Corporation. — Proceedings of the Corporation thereon.

In my remarks relating to the academic year 1803–4, I anticipated some things in which I was personally concerned, but broke away rather abruptly from the consideration of other matters, deeply interesting, in regard to the condition of the College. That year, the last of my father's life, was in some respects to him a year of sadness. The whole year passed without the vacancy occasioned by the death of Dr. Tappan, the beloved Professor of Divinity, having been filled, and it was thus in a manner a year of mourning for one, the loss of whom, as a guide and pattern in sacred things, had been followed

by no compensation. Hitherto the Corporation, for more than twenty years, had been an harmonious body. No root of bitterness had sprung up to trouble its members. But now, unhappily, there arose a case of conscience beyond the power of any human casuist to resolve, which proved for a time an effectual bar against proceeding to the choice of a Hollis Professor of Divinity. There was a division of opinion, no doubt conscientious, in regard to some of the qualifications required by the founder of the professorship, which could not be reconciled; and after a long and ineffectual attempt to effect a union, the majority felt obliged to leap over the bar, and come to the choice of a Professor in that department. On the 5th of February, 1805, Rev. Henry Ware of Hingham was chosen, and in the same month the Overseers concurred with the Corporation in the choice. This was eighteen months after the decease of Dr. Tappan. President Quincy, referring to the Diary of Rev. John Eliot, then a member of the Corporation, for his authority, says: "Every attempt to elect a successor to Dr. Tappan had been resisted by Eliphalet Pearson, the Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages, and an active member of the Corporation. He maintained that Hollis, by the terms of the foundation of his professorship, required that his Professor should be a Calvinist, and objected to every candidate proposed by any other member of the Board, as being deficient in this qualification." This state of things was unfortunate, but not a cause for any severity of personal remark. It opened a question which has been discussed and disputed about, from that time to this, by Christian polemics; not always in a Christian spirit, and sometimes with carnal weapons of conflict.

It does not appear, from anything I have seen or heard, who among the reputed Orthodox was named as candidate for the professorship in question, and I do not now remember any name with certainty. The question had become much agitated by the public, and Mr. Ware had been the most prominent candidate with the Liberal party, as it was called, long before he was elected. I never exchanged a word on the subject with Dr. Pearson, and I do not remember that my father ever dropped a word upon it in my presence. Only in general did I know the perplexity of the Corporation from conversation with the Fellows. Judge Wendell was a man of peace. He had a plan of compromise between the parties, Orthodox and Liberal as they were termed, which he broached in my single presence, between the time of President Willard's death and the choosing of Mr. Ware as Hollis Professor, which was this; namely, to place Mr. Ware in the chair of the presidency, and Dr. Appleton, who was afterwards President of Bowdoin College, in that of the professorship. But whether this plan was ever discussed in the Corporation I am not able to say.

Personally, my father had a very great regard for Mr. Ware. He knew him as a most exemplary young man, for four years as an undergraduate, and two years after as master of the Grammar School in Cambridge; and when he withdrew from this service, he was very desirous of his aid as a Tutor in College. But as Mr. Ware had arrived at an age at which he felt it to be his duty to devote himself entirely to a preparation for the Christian ministry, he respectfully declined the offer. But ever after he was received with a hearty welcome as a visitor at the President's abode.

Before the long controversy about the choice of a Hollis Professor of Divinity, I was not aware of the sternness of Dr. Pearson's orthodoxy, so called. About that time I remember his speaking in terms of high commendation of William Wilberforce's "Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians." But I supposed it was the spirit rather than the letter of the writer that roused his enthusiasm and stirred his eloquence; that moved his affections, without imparting new light to religious dogmas, or changing his views of the radical doctrines of the Gospel.

In the Board of Overseers, Dr. Morse, minister of the Congregational Church in Charlestown, was the leading opponent to the concurrence of this body with the Corporation in their choice of Mr. Ware. But, as the record says, "After long and patient discussion, the election of the Rev. Henry Ware was concurred in by the Overseers." On the 14th of May, 1805, he was installed as Hollis Professor of Divinity. In one year afterwards (less two days), May 12, 1806, Samuel Webber, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, was installed as President of Harvard College; the office having been vacant a year and eight months nearly, and its principal duties performed *pro hac vice* by Professor Pearson, the senior member of the Immediate Government, and Fellow of the Corporation. From the history of this long delay, previous to the choice of Professor Webber, given by President Quincy,* who had the means of learning it from the best authority, I subjoin the principal facts. "To the candidates for the President's

* Quincy's History of Harvard University.

chair proposed by the other members of the Corporation Dr. Pearson's opposition was uniform. A decision was consequently postponed until more than a year, when, on the 11th of December, 1805, the Hon. Fisher Ames was chosen his successor." This choice, probably, was made with little expectation that the office would be accepted by him, and might seem to indicate a *wish* on the part of the majority of the Corporation to escape from the alternative of choosing between two academical Professors. Mr. Ames respectfully declined the office. It now became the general opinion of those most interested in the College, that the alternative must be met, and that either Professor Pearson or Professor Webber was to be the man on whom the choice must fall. Mr. Quincy leads us to the record. "At a meeting of the Corporation on the 28th of February, a decided opinion favorable to the election of Mr. Webber was manifested by the members of the board, and Dr. Pearson immediately gave notice of his intention to resign his professorship and his seat in the Corporation. On the day succeeding, to which the meeting was adjourned, all the members were present except Dr. Pearson [namely, John Lathrop, Oliver Wendell, John Davis, John Eliot, Fellows, and Ebenezer Storer, the Treasurer], when, as the records state, 'a free discussion was had relative to making an election of President; and on the question whether the Corporation would proceed to such choice before the vacancy in the Corporation, which may be made by the intended resignation of Professor Pearson, shall be filled; on which question it was voted in the affirmative,' Judge Wendell dissenting. The Corporation then voted to proceed to the election of President

on the 3d of March ensuing, and a committee was appointed to inform Professor Pearson of the proposed meeting, 'that he may attend if he see cause.' On that day, all the members of the Corporation being present except Dr. Pearson, Samuel Webber, A.M., was chosen President of the University."

At a meeting of the Overseers, March 11, 1806, the choice of Mr. Webber was confirmed, and the chairman communicated a letter from Dr. Pearson to the board, in which, says Mr. Quincy, "after asserting that his endeavors, during a connection of twenty years, had been to exalt the literary, moral, and religious state of the seminary, and that he now found 'there remained no reasonable hope to promote that reformation in the society that he wished,' and that 'events during the last year having so deeply affected his mind, beclouded the prospect, spread such a gloom over the University, and compelled him to take such a view of its internal state and external relations, of its radical and constitutional maladies, as to exclude the hope of rendering any essential service to the interests of religion by continuing his relation to it,' he therefore requested an acceptance of his resignation. This communication was referred to a committee, of which Samuel Dexter was chairman, who reported, 'that, having had a free conversation with Dr. Pearson, although the state of the University did not appear to them so gloomy as he represented it, yet they duly appreciated his motives, and considering them of a high and commanding nature to him, recommended that the subject be postponed, and he requested to perform the duties of the office in the interim, and deliberate further on his resignation.'

"This report the Overseers refused to accept, and the subject being again referred to the same committee, they reported, 'that they have attentively considered the communication from Professor Pearson, and although they are not apprehensive the University is in so unfortunate a state as he has represented, yet they truly respect the motives that actuate him, and think them of so high and commanding a nature to him, that it would appear indecorous to request him to continue in office, unless the impressions on his mind can be removed; that, after a free and full conversation, he having expressed his full conviction that there is no probability that his opinion of the propriety and necessity of his resignation will change,' they therefore submit votes accepting his resignation, expressing 'a high sense of his virtues, talents, and services,' and recommending 'a speedy and serious consideration of his pecuniary claims.'"

The Corporation, to whom these votes were communicated, accepted Professor Pearson's resignation at a meeting on the 28th of March, adding that, "though they cannot admit that his views of the situation and prospects of the University are correct, yet they are fully persuaded that they are upright and conscientious, and lament the loss of his able and faithful services." They then appointed a committee to consider and report on his claims. The report of this committee was accepted; namely, "to pay Professor Pearson eight hundred dollars for his extra services, for his performance of duties belonging to the President's office since the decease of President Willard, and a further sum of eight hundred dollars for his extra services in the affairs of

the College, and for the time and money expended by him in such services at the special request of the Corporation."

This report, as accepted by the Corporation, came before the Overseers on the 15th of May, 1806, when "considerable conversation" arose on the question, which resulted in a vote to refer the subject again to the Corporation for further consideration. The Corporation then reported more in detail, and with explanations of the circumstances attending the resignation of the Professor; namely, that no gratuity could be justly granted "to a Professor who resigns voluntarily, in health, and with ability for further usefulness. As to compensation for his discharge of the duties of the presidency during the vacancy of that office, the Corporation deemed his claim reasonable; and, considering that he received all the fees for degrees at the last Commencement, and his full salary as Professor, they granted eight hundred dollars, which they deemed a large compensation for that service. His claim for compensation for extraordinary services as a member of the Corporation they admitted, and for them they granted a further sum of eight hundred dollars, which they deemed a very liberal allowance, and concluded that, 'to make any further grant to Professor Pearson would not be consistent with the fidelity they owe to the public and to the College, as the trustees of a property sacredly appropriated to the services of literature, science, and religion.'" Thus ended this unpleasant passage in the history of Harvard College.

My last year as Librarian, and consequently member of the Immediate Government of the College, was spent

while Professor Pearson was the presiding officer. I have no painful recollections to call up during this period, as connected with him in that station. The resignation of the three Tutors I have before mentioned, Cleaveland, Kimball, and Sanger, took effect at the close of the academic year 1804–5; and in the choice of successors to them, and to the Librarian, the Corporation, the presiding officer, and all connected with the College must have felt that the appointing power had been remarkably fortunate in securing the services of such men to partake in the government and instruction. I need only to mention their names (Levi Frisbie, Ichabod Nichols, and John Farrar, Tutors, and Peter Nourse, Librarian), one of whom only survives, revered in the Church, as he had been honored and beloved, like his departed colleagues, in his academical station. The Corporation kept fast hold on Frisbie and Farrar, and would not let them go, until a higher Power released the one by death and the other by incurable disease.

Dr. Pearson, with the same inborn energy and perseverance which characterized him in all his favorite undertakings, entered a new field of labor, in which remarkable success in his original aim was followed by disappointed hopes and expectations; counterbalanced, perhaps, by the prosperous issues of other aims equally important.

Several years before his decease, which occurred in the year 1826, having witnessed the growth of the Theological Seminary at Andover, and the prosperity of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and of the American Society for Educating Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry, with all of which institutions his name will ever be associated, he withdrew from public, active service in extending their benefits, and retired to a family estate in Harvard, Worcester County, where he enjoyed the endearments of domestic life without interruption, and philosophical leisure for reflection on the good that he had accomplished and the good he had designed. I saw him, after his removal to Harvard; in Cambridge, and in Portsmouth, N. H.; and also at his own house after his lower limbs had become paralyzed to a considerable degree, and his organs of speech to a greater. I marched the room with him arm in arm, he giving the military movement and step by word of command. He could occasionally ask a short question or make a short remark with distinct articulation. It was a pleasure to me to see him, however, though mixed with pain, and to find him full of social feeling, although so limited in the power of utterance. There was evidently but a step between him and death, though no one could know which of us would be the first victim.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Condition of the Immediate Government in the Year 1805. — My Residence in Cambridge after Commencement. — The three Academical Professorships all filled. — Their Peculiar State. — In March, 1806, one Professor is promoted, another resigns, occasioning two Vacancies. — My Mother's Removal. — My Absence from Cambridge for Four Months. — Condition of the Immediate Government on my Return. — My Employments.

DURING the academic year 1805 – 6 I was merely a looker-on in regard to the affairs of the College. Previously, however, to my removal from the study that I occupied in the College to the President's house, in which my mother and her family remained, by the kind offer of the Corporation, after the President's death, until it was wanted for his successor, it had again become a house of mourning. My brother, Jacob Sheafe, about the middle of July, 1805, in his Junior year at College, and in the eighteenth year of his age, was taken with sudden illness, which increased to a violent fever, beyond the control of medical skill, and terminated in his death on the twenty-sixth day of that month. A year before, he accompanied his father on his last and fatal journey, which circumstance caused one of the painful associations attending this distressing event. He was indeed a noble youth, kindly regarded by his instructors, and beloved by his classmates; one of whom, selected from their number, Joseph Green Cogswell, pronounced a just and affectionate eulogy upon him, in presence of the government and students, in the College Chapel, attended by the bereaved family.

The autumn and winter I spent in the family of my mother and sisters, whose sorrows were alleviated by the sympathy of their friends connected with the College, and others, and by the acquaintance formed, in due time, with the estimable gentlemen I have named, who had entered upon the duties of their respective departments as Tutors. My time was employed in reading and study, in writing a few sermons, and contributing a few materials for the decent departure of the expiring Literary Miscellany, in addition to the necessary services I could perform for the comfort of the best of mothers, and of her dutiful and devoted children. Thus we remained together through the long winter and tardy spring, a united family, not forgotten or neglected by neighbors and friends. On Sundays I was generally absent, preaching in vacant parishes; but the church in which we worshipped in Cambridge was only a few rods from the President's house, nearer to it than to any other in the village; and the public services were attended by the family with great constancy. The President's house, as I shall always call it, still remains; it will probably outlive me; if otherwise, the spot where it stands, however garnished and adorned, will be in my sight a mere desolate plat of ground. Four of my father's successors in office occupied it during their con-

tinuance in office; the fifth and sixth, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, chose to remain in houses in which they already dwelt, at a convenient distance from the College halls. To my seeming, however, there is but one President's house; the memory of which, for seventy years remaining after having deducted the first five years of my infancy, cannot be obliterated by a few accidental changes. The two professors' houses, and the Parsonage-house, in the same range, southeasterly, have disappeared. The picture of them remains only for the mind's eye. Nothing is left to show the spots on which they stood, except that, in the case of the Parsonage-house, there still remains the tall shagbark-tree, which stood near the southwesterly corner thereof, under which, in frosty autumn, I used to pick up nuts with the sons of the good parson, all of whom, four in number, died several years ago.* How many generations, calculated according to the duration of man's life, the shadow of that tree had been cast around the ancient dwelling, no one probably can tell.

The election of Professor Webber to the presidency of the College by the Corporation, March 3d, and concurred in by the Overseers on the 11th, in the year 1806, was a signal for the removal of my mother and her family, at such time as the President elect should name. The 12th of May was appointed for his inauguration, and he wished only a few days before that time for the house to be vacated, and prepared for his removal. My mother had secured a house in the village in due season,

* Rev. Timothy Hilliard died May 9, 1790, his two eldest sons being then members of the Freshman Class in College.

and removed about the beginning of that month. She had been in undisturbed occupation of the President's house for about a year and a half, a charity of much longer duration than the bestowers or the receiver had anticipated, including two whole winters, and terminating in a favorable time for removal.

Having, previously to this time, engaged to preach in Burlington, Vermont, as early in the spring of 1806 as I could conveniently journey thither, immediately after my mother's removal I commenced the journey in the stage-coach on that route, and arrived there in safety, at the due time of this mode of conveyance. Acquainted with no person in Burlington except Mr. Sanders, the President of the College in that place, styled "The University of Vermont," I remained at his house a day or two, until a place was provided for me for boarding while I should reside there. I found the place and the family with whom I boarded in all respects agreeable to my wishes. The town had become considerably altered since I had been there, seven years before, and appeared to be in a flourishing condition. Soon I became acquainted with some of the most prominent citizens, and was treated by them with great hospitality. There was but one religious society or congregation in the town, and their place of meeting for the public services on Sunday was in the Court-House. They had maintained public worship for several years, probably not constantly, and had not, before my arrival there, listened to any preacher whom they regarded as a candidate for settlement in the ministry. President Sanders had at different times performed the religious services, and, the year before I arrived there, Dr. Williams of Rutland,

former Professor in Harvard College, had officiated to the acceptance of his hearers. The congregation was respectable for number, appearance, and attention during my period of service. There was doubtless considerable diversity of opinions among the worshippers; and, in the town, diversity of sects; but still sufficient materials for a permanent parish, under an efficient pastor.

In the season for travelling for pleasure or health, as well as business, many stopped awhile at Burlington; particularly those who crossed the lake to visit Montreal and Quebec. Among them, I remember that Admiral Coffin, who had been for some weeks or months in the United States, spent a number of days in the town, and I had several pleasant interviews with him. Harrison Gray Otis, with some of his family and friends, was another. About the same time, my younger brother, Samuel, with William Aylwin, Esq. of Boston, stopped at Burlington, where I joined them, according to a previous agreement, in a visit to Lower Canada. They had letters of introduction for themselves, and for me, to the Sewalls in Quebec, one of whom was Judge of the Superior Court, and his younger brother, Stephen, Attorney-General. At the house of the former we passed a very pleasant evening. His mother, a sprightly old lady, the sister of Governor Hancock's wife, was one of the household, and we were entertained with great courtesy by the whole family. The Attorney-General politely took me in his chaise around the city and its suburbs, in which excursion he stopped here and there to enjoy some beautiful views of the surrounding country.

The Sewalls were reasonably inquisitive about Boston

and its neighborhood. Twenty-three years had passed since the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, and old grudges between the Loyalists and the Whigs had slept. On the 4th of July, I think, we were in Montreal. But in whatever part of the Province we were, of course our quiet was not disturbed by any uproarious carousals. For these, we must have carried back our imaginations nearer home.

In returning from Quebec, we took calashes, so called, with drivers and changes of horses and carriages on the way, and stopped at Three Rivers. It so happened, that in our company there was one of a family of Jews of Three Rivers, named Hart. I made acquaintance with him on the road, and, in conversation with him on religious subjects, he gave me his creed, which was very brief. He said his religious creed was, "Be not cruel." We stopped at Three Rivers a day or two, waiting for a packet to arrive and take us to Montreal. While stopping there, we were invited to the house of our new-made acquaintance, where we dined with some other members of his family, and toward sunset had the good fortune to embark in a vessel for Montreal, where we arrived the next day. Mr. Aylwin had an uncle at Montreal who was very attentive to us, — a bachelor, and a man full of gentlemanly, but not of oppressive kindness, — and who was our voluntary *cicerone* guiding us to places and institutions which he thought we might wish to see; and my brother had a letter of introduction to a Mr. Clark, formerly of Boston, one of the Loyalists who took refuge in Montreal, with whom we dined. I had a letter to a Scotch gentleman, whose name I cannot now recollect, from his niece, I believe

it was, then residing at Burlington. He was a merchant, concerned in the fur-trade, and reputed to be very rich. His summer residence was a mile or two out of the city of narrow streets and lofty houses of stone. He invited us to breakfast with him the next morning after I delivered to him my letter of introduction. We found him in a beautiful location, and, after our morning walk, we were able to do justice to our sumptuous fare, and to feast our eyes with the fruits and flowers of his beautiful grounds.

Leaving Montreal, about ten days after we entered Lower Canada at St. John's, and, bound to Burlington, we found no packet ready to sail. Not disposed to wait with uncertainty at a place where there seemed to be nothing inviting, we, with some other gentlemen in the same condition, bargained for a *bateau* of pretty capacious size, with a sufficient number of oarsmen to take us to the place of our destination. The Canadian Boat-Song, and other ditties, were performed by the rowers, and oft repeated, *gratis*. I do not remember at what hour of the day we embarked on board of this craft; but we were obliged to spend a night on shore, with no enviable accommodations. After arriving at Burlington, my brother and his companion soon returned home. It was about the middle of July when I resumed my labors at Burlington, and continued them until near the close of August. During a part of this time I assisted President Sanders in the instruction of his pupils. The number was small, but I think there were three classes, and he was the only instructor. He had an exhibition while I remained there of students belonging to the Junior and Sophomore Classes, about the close of the college year;

and some of the performances were very creditable, both in the composition and the delivery. When about to return to Cambridge, I had an interview with some of the leading members of the parish, or Parish Committee, of their seeking, respecting the terms which they could offer me as an inducement to settle there as the minister of the place, provided that I should be so inclined. It was, however, only a preliminary movement, before any general meeting of the society, and terminated with the understanding, that, if the parish should have any definite proposition to make, it should be communicated to me in writing, addressed to Cambridge.

A few days after I returned to Cambridge from Burlington, I received a letter, in official form, communicating to me the votes of the parish, inviting me to take the charge of it as the minister, together with the terms agreed upon for my support. In my frequent removals to different houses in Cambridge, that communication, with many other letters and papers, is lost; so that memory is now my only record of the contents of the letter. The terms were, a small salary of four or five hundred dollars, a building-lot in a central part of the town, ample for a dwelling-house and garden, and a glebe of many acres not far distant from the high ground on which the College buildings stood. After due consideration, I declined the offer.

During my absence, Professor Webber had been inaugurated as President of the College; but the vacancies occasioned by his promotion to this office, and by the resignation of Dr. Pearson, had not been filled. Commencement day of the year 1806 had passed, and the College walls were deserted in consequence of the four weeks' vacation that had begun.

In the month of May of the same year, preceding my return from Burlington, John Pickering, Esq. was elected Hancock Professor of Hebrew, &c., and Nathaniel Bowditch, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. They both declined, to the regret of all who felt an interest in the departments of literature and science embraced in the respective offices. Since new appointments, if made by the Corporation, could not be confirmed by the Overseers before their semiannual meeting during the winter session of the General Court in the following year, the former body took time to consider the subject, preparatory to another election. During this period of suspense, I must confess that I felt a longing desire to be again embraced by my Alma Mater; which was encouraged by the voluntary interposition of some of my learned friends.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Election of Professors. — My Election to the Office of Hancock Professor. — Inauguration. — Election of Hollis Professor of Mathematics, &c., and Tutor in the Greek Language. — All Vacancies in the Faculty filled. — Disturbances by the Students. — The Causes they alleged. — The Measures taken by the Government of the College thereupon. — Consequences of the Disorders. — The Duties of my Office in regard to Instruction. — The Effect of establishing the Boylston Professorship on the Duties prescribed in the Statutes of the Hancock Professorship.

In the month of December, 1806, I was elected by the Corporation to the office of Hancock Professor, and Rev. Joseph McKean to that of Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, which office he declined to accept. Before the next semiannual meeting of the Overseers, John Farrar, Tutor in the Greek department, was elected to the same office, and Ashur Ware was elected and confirmed at the same meeting as his successor in that department.

My inauguration took place about the middle of February, so that the interval between my election and this time gave me opportunity to write my inaugural address (in Latin, according to the custom in such cases), and

to recover and extend my little knowledge of Hebrew. Everything pertaining to the Immediate Government and to the students, and to their relation with each other as instructors and pupils, appeared to be harmonious and cheering. Mr. Webber, in his office as Professor, had always secured to himself the respect and good-will of the Undergraduates, and neither he nor his associates in the Faculty were aware that anything had occurred, even by accident, that could give reasonable cause for disturbing the peace and order which had existed during the nine months of his administration that had passed.

Suddenly, in about a month after the beginning of the term, there sprung up a turbulent and impatient spirit among a portion of the students, originating in Commons Hall, as did a great part of the troubles connected with the discipline of the College during my experience of five years as one of the presiding officers therein. The intercourse among students at meals was not casual or promiscuous. Generally, the students of the same class formed themselves into messes, as they were called, consisting each of eight members; and the length of one table was sufficient to seat two messes. A mess was a voluntary association of those who liked each other's company; and each member had his own place. This arrangement was favorable for good order; and, where the members conducted themselves with propriety, their cheerful conversation, and even exuberant spirits and hilarity, if not too boisterous, were not unpleasant to that portion of the government who presided at the head table. But the arrangement afforded opportunities also for combining in factious plans and organizations, tending to disorders, which became infectious, and terminated unhappily for all concerned.

In the case before me, the primary agitation was in Commons Hall, and concerning commons; the injury on account of which the complainants felt aggrieved was of the stomach, that sensitive organ, which is apt to be offended, and, when its complaints are not promptly assuaged, is prone to revolt. The "Narrative of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Harvard College relative to the late Disorders in that Seminary," printed in Cambridge, April, 1807, is the only document in my possession from which I can select the principal and primary facts of the case.

"The Corporation, at a meeting holden in Boston on Friday, the twentieth day of March last, received a complaint of the three junior classes of the students against their commons; and the President, to whom until then no complaint of that kind had been made, was requested to attend to the subject, and to see that all reasonable relief was granted."

Thus it seems that the three classes appeared before the Corporation at an unusual place, well prepared, by their committees or otherwise, to make known their grievances. They were kindly treated, and a fair promise was made to them that the President would inquire into the matter. Young men and boys are apt to be impatient, and their elders are sometimes too prone to delay or postpone the consideration of their requests. Some of the Tutors expressed their regret that the subject came before the Corporation at the first stage, thinking that the Immediate Government was more favorably situated for getting at the root of the

evil, and administering the remedy. The President was no doubt minute and exact in his inquiries, for he was wont to be so in all cases; but the young men were restless, and did not like to wait many days for a better dinner. Between the time of stating their complaints and the evidence that measures were in progress to remove all further cause, disorders increased, and punishments were inflicted by the Immediate Government, and the terror of them decreased. The "little cloud" which arose, "like a man's hand," spread until "the heaven was black with clouds and wind," followed by a fearful tempest. A fortnight after the meeting of the Corporation in March, at which the "three junior classes" entered their complaint, the Corporation met (April 3d), by the request of the President, at his house; "and the President authorized the several classes to meet and choose committees to lay before the Corporation their complaints against their commons. The committees of the several classes were called in, and heard with attention on the subject of their complaint, and every investigation was made that could lead to a discovery of the truth. The Corporation then inquired of the Steward, Tutors, and other officers, what was the real state of the commons, what defects had existed, and whether the causes of those defects, if any, were accidental or wilful, or whether they arose from negligence. After a full inquiry, made with the best intentions to promote the accommodation of the students, and after the necessary directions on the subject of complaint had been given, and measures to prevent future causes of complaint, as far as they could be prevented, contemplated, the Corporation proceeded to inquire into

the state of the College, the temper and disposition of the students, and their late conduct, so far as it related to their submission to the laws. The result of this inquiry was, that the President, immediately after the meeting of the Corporation holden at Boston in March, proceeded to execute the trust reposed in him by acquiring the necessary information to ascertain what grievances in fact existed, and the best methods of redress. While in the course of inquiry, he was interrupted, in the succeeding week, by illegal and very reprehensible disturbances, that took place in the hall, and which were not connected ostensibly with the state of commons."

The "Narrative" is then continued with an account of the proceedings of the Immediate Government in punishing overt acts; of some one or more of the committee of the petitioners calling upon the President at unsuitable times, to learn, as they said, the fate of the petition, when they had no reason to expect that he could be seen, and reported their want of success in their attempts to gain the information sought; in consequence of which the bell was rung for a meeting of the classes, at which they combined, that, after entering the hall at dinner-time, if the Senior class, "who had not before complained of their commons to the Corporation, disapproved of their commons, and took the lead, they would leave the hall without license." This plan of combination was effected and carried out, the Seniors having been drawn into it by the false coloring of the leaders in the other classes. "At evening commons none attended; and the President, agreeably to a vote of the Immediate Government, to prevent any

unnecessary waste of provisions, put them all out of commons the next morning, and gave them permission to diet at proper houses, until further orders."

The Corporation now regarded these young men as having outlawed themselves by their own acts. They had, by their own choosing, ceased

"To walk the studious cloister's pale,"

and strayed outside of the inclosure. The duty was strictly theirs to seek admission within. Their breaking over the bounds had now become a matter of great notoriety. Parents and guardians met them, gathered them singly or in clusters to the hall of an inn near the College, and plied them with eloquent and affectionate appeals and warnings to return to their duty. Some of them were dumb, and other some put themselves on the defensive, and with eloquence and pathos like that with which they were addressed, manfully stood their ground, and pleaded for what they deemed the injured party. It was, as I understood from some gentlemen present, who were not personally and directly interested in the controversy, an affecting and exciting scene.

The Corporation were for a moment at a stand. The offences could not be passed over in silence. To this conclusion they came at once. After due deliberation, they agreed in judgment, that the combination was so radical, so general, and so persistent, that it did not come within the provisions of the College penal laws, as they were intended to be applied, and consequently that these laws were, for the time being, superseded; and that it was the duty of the Corporation, with the

concurrence of the Overseers, to act in this exigency, and to point out the way in which the wanderers might return.

At a meeting of the Corporation, April 3d, it was "Voted, that the President be requested to direct the students to attend commons on Sunday morning next, and until further order." This was followed by votes of a declarative kind; namely, that "the conduct of the students, in leaving the hall at the time of dinner, was disorderly, indecent, an insult to the authority of the College that ought not to be passed over in silence; that any student guilty of such behavior, and who can deliberately approve of it and manifest a continued disposition to disregard the laws of the College, is no longer worthy of retaining his connection with it"; but that "the Corporation, in consideration of the youth of the students, and hoping that their rash and illegal conduct is rather owing to want of experience and reflection, than to malignity of temper or a spirit of defiance, are disposed to give them an opportunity to certify in writing to the President, as he shall direct, their admission of the impropriety of their conduct, their regret for it, and their determination to offend no more in this manner; it is therefore voted, that, if any student who left the hall at the time of dinner in the disorderly manner aforesaid, or who was aiding in or advising thereto, shall neglect or refuse to give the President a certificate of the purport aforesaid for the space of seven days after he shall be notified of these votes, the Immediate Government of the College are requested to dissolve his connection with it, and to send him back to his father or guardian for his future government, as

manifesting a disposition hostile to the good order and necessary institutions of the College."

The acknowledgment of their offence, signed by those who applied for readmission to their class, was expressed in terms as little humiliating as could be devised; namely, "We the subscribers, students of Harvard College, who went out of the hall at the time of dinner on Monday, the 30th of March last, contrary to the laws of the College, made for the preservation of order and decorum, do admit that our conduct in so doing was improper, that we do regret it, and that we are determined to offend no more in this manner." The form required of aiders and advisers, *mutatis mutandis*, was the same. At the termination of the seven days to which the offenders were limited, in order to take advantage of the act of amnesty, the time was further extended for those who still wished to return, but with the requirement of an additional expression of regret for their tardiness. But, with all the indulgence exercised by the government of the College in the two Boards, there were many who were not induced to return. It should be added as follows: "At a meeting of the Overseers of Harvard College, by adjournment, in the Council Chamber in Boston, April 16, 1807. After a full and satisfactory inquiry into the disorders which have lately taken place in the University, and the expediency of the measures which have been adopted by the Corporation to put an end to them, voted unanimously, that this Board do concur with the Corporation in the votes passed by that body, on the 3d and on the 13th of this instant, relating to the said disorders."

The disturbances occasioned no inconsiderable breach

upon the order of studies and stated exercises, and loss of students, some of them among the most distinguished in the several classes. Upon several of them afterwards, at different periods, the degree of Master of Arts was conferred, and they were placed in the College Catalogue in their alphabetical order, in the classes to which they had belonged as Undergraduates, with the year in which their degrees were conferred annexed to their names.

About one whole month was worse than lost by these unhappy strifes and combinations, and from this general account of them I cheerfully return to the place from which I started, — to the place where I spoke of the changes in the Faculty, and of its present state.

The statutes under which I was introduced into the Hancock Professorship were the same that were established at the introduction of my predecessor. Professor Sewall, who first held the office, from the year 1765 to the year 1785, came into it, not only as a learned Oriental scholar, but distinguished also for his critical knowledge of the Greek and Latin language; and his time, while Professor of Hebrew, &c. was employed partly in teaching these languages. For the four years previous to his election to the office of Hancock Professor, he had been the instructor in Hebrew. In September, 1763, he presented to the Corporation a "Plan to promote Classical Learning," naming the principal authors to be introduced, and recommending "frequent exercises of translating out of Latin into English, and *vice versâ*; that Homer's Odyssey, or some other approved Greek poet, be learned, in order to indoctrinate the students in the true method of pronouncing

Greek according to the quantity of syllables, and to remedy that barbarous pronunciation by accents which generally prevails," and that some of the best Greek prose authors should be introduced for a greater extension of the study of Greek, "besides the New Testament."

Before Professor Pearson entered upon the office of Hancock Professor, in the year 1785, very important additions were made to the statutes of this professorship. Previous to this time, there was no provision in the arrangement of College students for the critical study of the English language and improvement in English composition, by means of stated practice on the part of the students, under the direction of an instructor to point out their faults, to correct these by his emendations, and in general to guard the pupil against false notions of fine writing in their aspirations for an ornate and elevated style; to correct their errors in grammar, rhetoric, and logic, their solecisms, barbarisms, tautologies, incongruous figures of speech, and syllogistic fallacies, and in general to erase or modify everything offending against simplicity and good taste.

Precisely the same statutes which were framed for the office when Professor Pearson filled it existed when it fell to me. Immediately after it was vacated by Professor Sewall, "an addition was made," says President Quincy, "to the original statutes of the Hancock Professorship, on account of the insufficiency of that foundation, and the small number of students in the Oriental languages; a dispensation from studying being granted to such as preferred a written request from their parents. The duty of teaching the general principles of grammar, particularly of the English language, and of instructing in English composition, was therefore assigned to the Hancock Professor."

In commencing my labors of teaching the Hebrew language, I made no change of books. It was taught by my predecessor without the use of the vowel-points; and, as an oral language, deprived of the artificial marks for vowels as a guide to the pronunciation, nothing, having the name of language, can be more vague in sound, and unpronounceable. Professor Pearson had begun to print Bishop Hare's Hebrew Psalter, entitled, "Psalmorum Liber in Versiculos Metrice divisus; cum Dissertatione de Antiqua Hebræorum Poesi," — with a Latin translation. A few sheets only had been printed, which were done up in pamphlet form for use by the students. Supposing that the printing of the work had been well considered, I proceeded, with the approbation of the President, to continue the printing until it was completed. My Hebrew classes were small, much as they had been in past times. In translating a Hebrew word, the eyes of a pupil would sometimes wander, and seize upon the wrong Latin word in the margin for its meaning, producing a ludicrous effect. One of the students, a grave youth, who never meant to do anything wrong, acquired the habit of translating the Hebrew word Jehovah into Jupiter. The sacred name Jehovah, which a Jew does not pronounce, is so disguised by the omission of the vowel-points, and heathenized, that such a blunder was almost pardonable. Thus disguised, the letters of the word itself are assumed as vowels, giving to it a sound like this: *iewe*. About two years after my inauguration, I was visited by a Polish

Jew, who strayed into my neighborhood, and became a resident in Cambridge for a while. I read Hebrew with him every two or three days for a month or more. He was familiar with the Hebrew Scriptures, but otherwise not a man of much learning. Two or three years later, a German Jew by the name of Horwitz came to Cambridge, and remained a year or more. He found some encouragement as a teacher of German. I studied German with his aid. He was somewhat arrogant in his pretensions, but could justly lay claim to considerable learning in the language of his religion and of the country from which he migrated. I had one or two private students in Syriac, who came to my study for instruction, and one who began the study of Arabic, and made some progress. I suppose there were and are scholars who might excite some zeal in the study of the Oriental languages; but the general impression is, and ever has been, at our University, that the value of such learning does not repay the labor and pains necessary to be undergone in its acquirement. I once asked Professor Stuart whether there were many good Hebrew scholars in his classes, and his reply was, emphatically, and in substance, *Very few.*

After having been in office seven or eight years, performing the instruction in Hebrew according to the manner I have mentioned, unsatisfactorily to myself, but in conformity to precedent, I was induced, by the earnest request of Professor Stuart of Andover and by my own wants, to prepare a grammar suited to the elementary study of those who ought to acquire knowledge enough of the language readily to trace to the fountain

the radical words of its limited vocabulary. This grammar I used from the year of its publication, in 1817, in giving instructions in Hebrew as well to Resident Graduates studying Divinity, and afterwards to students in the Divinity School, as to the Undergraduates. It was superseded at Andover, after being used for a time, I know not how long, by Professor Stuart's great grammatical thesaurus, which he afterwards reduced within more reasonable limits; and it continued in use at Harvard College until my resignation, at the close of the year 1831. Dr. Palfrey, after a new organization of the Divinity School, in September, 1830, was elected Professor of Biblical Criticism, and by the statutes of his office was required to give the instruction in the Hebrew language. My grammar being nearly out of print, he was desirous that I should publish a new edition. I had here and there noted, in an interleaved copy, emendations from year to year, after it was printed, until the time of my resignation; and then, becoming engaged in other matters alien to such work, I declined, or rather failed, to perform the task proposed.

The instruction in English studies required to be conducted by the Hancock Professor was more arduous than it would seem to be to those who had never undertaken it, however competent they might have been to perform it. Merely to examine his pupils in the rules of the elementary text-books in grammar and rhetoric was a small part of his labor. It was his duty to sound their understandings, to find out whether they understood what they recited from memory, and to assist them by illustrations drawn from examples. In

the writings of beginners upon themes assigned to them, or those of their own choosing, the teacher will find that, for the want of practice, many faults will occur, which, when suggested to the pupils by any arbitrary mark of his pen calling their attention to them, they will readily correct. Other faults, and many, the novitiate will not perceive until they are clearly pointed out by the teacher. In extreme cases of inability to write with any propriety, cases almost hopeless, I sometimes, by interlineation, used to write through the piece, giving the proper form and construction of sentences, and of the collocation of the members, so as to show in the most tangible form the way, and the necessity, of correction. This method gave no offence, and, in some instances, was followed by remarkable improvement in the writers. Indeed, all writers require to be looked after, and it is especially important that those who are in training should be made to perceive that they are faithfully watched, and that it is their duty to respond to the vigilance exercised over them. Sometimes they will put themselves on their defence. If this is done with modesty, it is well; it should not be repelled by the dogmatism of the teacher.

Teaching is sometimes said to be the readiest way of learning. Rightly understood, there is much truth in the axiom. He who is constantly employed in revising the writings of others, is of necessity employed also, in connection with this service, in the study of grammar and logic and rhetoric; all of which, properly understood and applied, are necessary for the formation of a perspicuous, tasteful, and accurate writer.

My duties in the English department were agreeable

to my taste, and performed with diligence and severe labor. Fortunately for me, I so far gained the goodwill of the students, that I was able to remark upon their themes with considerable freedom, without giving offence. My endeavor was to criticize their writings in the manner and with the same spirit that I should wish for the exercise of the critic's skill upon writings of my own, — benefits that I have often enjoyed, and been grateful for, during a large part of my life; and in my reading I have often perceived how valuable such criticism would have been to writers who have acquired great praise and extensive popularity.

In this part of my service, agreeable, though laborious, and performed with fidelity, and favorably appreciated in its discharge by many of my literary friends, there was destined to be a conflict with a professorship which was not established in full, — a conflict which seems not to have been foreseen when I was introduced into the office of Hancock Professor. In the year 1804, three years before I was inaugurated as Hancock Professor, a fund bequeathed by Nicholas Boylston, who died in the year 1771, and received by the Corporation from his executors in 1772, had increased to such an amount, that the Corporation of Harvard College established the Boylston Professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory; "Statutes for which," says President Quincy, "having been adopted, John Quincy Adams was elected, and in June, 1806, installed, as the first Professor. By the terms of his acceptance, his duties were limited to a course of public lectures to the Resident Graduates and the two senior classes of Undergraduates, and to presiding at the declamations of those classes. In July,

1810, he resigned his office, 'on account of a call in the foreign service of his country.' His Lectures, which were published the same year, at the request of the students attending them, evidenced the spirit and talent with which he fulfilled the duties of his professorship." Thus far, there was no conflict of duties between the two professorships.

"In the August following, the Rev. Joseph McKean was appointed successor to Mr. Adams. When this election was submitted to the Overseers, their concurrence was accompanied by a vote, requiring the Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory to reside at Cambridge, near the College, to perform all the duties of his office, and to be a member of the Immediate Executive Government, whenever required by the Overseers." From this last service he was exempt by his wish and the acquiescence of the Overseers.

The immunity enjoyed by Professor McKean from attending the meetings of the Immediate Government was due to him, perhaps with some limitations, on account of the precariousness of his health. It was very desirable, however, that a department so important as that which he filled should be represented at these meetings, whenever the character of the students who attended his exercises was matter of inquiry, in regard to their general conduct, their attention to the prescribed exercises, their acquirements, and their relative rank. Information derived from the Professor, at the meetings of the Faculty, would be far more satisfactory than that which could be obtained otherwise, only from his written statement, or from inquiries made at his study.

Professor McKean was a man of great energy, neither fearing nor shunning the labors of his office, the duties of which were arduous. His constancy in performing them preyed upon his health, probably before he was aware of the consequences; until, in October, 1817, it became so much impaired, that, "on the urgent advice of his physicians, he resolved to seek its restoration in a milder climate. On his applying to the Corporation for a dispensation from his official duties, they readily granted his request, expressing their 'regret at the suspension of his important services, and their tender concern for his health,' and voting to provide, without charge, for the instruction given in his department during his absence. The Overseers unanimously concurred with the Corporation in similar expressions of respect and affection. The hopes of Dr. McKean's friends, however, were not realized, and he died at Havana, March 17th, 1818." *

Professor Hedge, by appointment, delivered a Eulogy on Professor McKean, which contained the principal facts of his life and occupations, and a description of his character in his various relations, domestic and official, which was just and discriminating. This he could well do, in regard to his character as a man especially; for it required no long time to find out what it was. Frank and generous in his friendships, and liberal in his estimate of others, he readily gained the confidence of those with whom he associated. He spurned all disguise, and some things in the over cautious and reserved, which are called prudence, he was

* President Quincy's History of Harvard University.

apt to fear bordered on hypocrisy. The circumstance of his election by the Corporation to the Hollis Professorship of Mathematics, in December, 1806, at the same time that I was elected Hancock Professor, led me to frequent interviews with him, previous to his declining the office, and to an intimacy which was strengthened by associating with him afterwards as a member of the Anthology Club, which we joined by election at the same time in January, 1807.

The duties of instruction for which the Corporation promised Professor McKean that they would "provide without charge," were assigned to me. I performed them from October, 1817, to December, 1819, at which date Edward T. Channing was inducted into the office of Boylston Professor, in which he worked diligently and successfully for more than thirty-one years; namely, to the close of the academical year 1850–51. He had acquired a high literary reputation before his election, which he fully sustained during his official connection with the University; and in withdrawing from it, he received testimonies of full approbation of his services rendered to the cause of letters through the long period in which he had performed them without intermission.

It does not appear, from President Quincy's account of the establishment of the Boylston Professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory, in what part of the year 1804 — whether it was before or after the decease of President Willard, which was on the 25th of September of that year — the Professorship was established; and I have no other document to repair to for ascertaining the fact. During that year I know that, before Commencement day, Ward Nicholas Boylston was several

times at the President's house and at the Library, and that before and during that time he took a great interest in the establishment of the office, and in the choice of the first Professor. In the choice of Hon. John Quincy Adams, the Corporation met his hearty approbation, and gratified his family pride. This choice, and the lectures prepared and delivered by Mr. Adams, though the intentions of the Corporation were thus only partially realized, gave great *éclat* to the University and to the lecturer. But to him it was only a temporary diversion from his political aspirations, which he lived long enough afterwards to realize in almost every gradation, ascending and descending, and not to be least honored and lauded in the last and lowest. His two successors were not known and felt by their pupils in the public lecture-room only; they came nearer to classes and individuals, by the application of their critical knowledge of the English language to the immature writings of the unpractised neophytes, so as to save them from bad idioms, rhetorical absurdities, incongruous metaphors, branching out into commonplace allegories, inconsequential reasoning, and all sorts of affectation.

While in the change of circumstances my more direct and private instructions were superseded, I continued to deliver my lectures on general and philosophical grammar, which, though written with considerable care and study, I did not suppose would be listened to with much attention; yet I never had reason to complain of their being treated with intentional disrespect. It was the more gratifying, therefore, when, in after times, I met young men who had become active

members of society in various callings, that now and then one alluded to these dry bones as not wholly forgotten, and proved his remembrance by citing examples.

There was only a short interval between the inauguration of President Webber and that of Professor Adams. The President was introduced into office by that ceremony, May 12, 1806, and the Professor in the month of June. The near coincidence in the time of the termination of their offices is, when looking back to the beginning, very remarkable. President Webber died on the 17th of July, 1810, and Professor Adams resigned his office in the same month and year, "on account of a call in the foreign service of his country."

Mr. Webber, before he was elected President, had been an instructor in the University nineteen years, two years in the office of Tutor, and seventeen in that of Professor, both in the mathematical department. His character and scholarship while an undergraduate, and his fidelity and success in teaching, and discreetness in governing his pupils while he held the Tutor's office, recommended him to the President for that of Professor of Mathematics. He succeeded in this office a man of very popular gifts; but he discharged its duties so satisfactorily, and so uniformly enjoyed the good-will of the students, that he always devoted himself cheerfully to his work. It was with reluctance that he accepted the office of President. The circumstances under which the change took place must necessarily have been painful to a man of his modesty and amiable temper; and therefore he entered upon it with some misgivings,

but conducted himself in it with uniform dignity. The outbreak of the fiery youth near the close of the first year of his presidency had its origin in their unreasonable and culpable impatience; and whatever imputations of neglect of their complaints were cast upon the President, they proved to be unjust, and owing to the unsuitable times at which the chief agents or committee called upon him for his reply. The evil consequences of this outbreak, disastrous indeed to the young men and boys, (some of the most deserving of them not choosing to return to College by conforming to the conditions prescribed,) and injurious for the time being to the University, were not of long duration. The three remaining years of Dr. Webber's presidency were peaceful, and the University, under his administration, prosperous.

Mr. Adams, besides the benefits conferred upon the University by his lectures, coming from a man of such political and literary celebrity, was, before and after, one of its mindful sons and benefactors. In the year 1797, and afterwards, he made valuable donations of books to the library. At a period much later, he became the most active and persevering and energetic promoter of the establishment of an Astronomical Observatory at the University in Cambridge. It is true, that, so early as the year 1816, "the Corporation appointed John Farrar, the Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and Nathaniel Bowditch, a committee with full power to order instruments suitable for an observatory, to be built for the College. Owing to difficulties arising from the European artist whom they wished to employ, this power was never executed, and nothing

of importance was done, except procuring plans and sketches relating to the building." *

In 1822, an attempt was made by the same committee to secure a suitable piece of land, sufficiently near to the College, for the Observatory; but they did not succeed. Such is the history of the matter for the first seven years; at the termination of which, "in October, 1823, Mr. John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State of the United States, addressed a letter to a member of the Corporation, urging that a building should be erected, without waiting for instruments from Europe, and recommending that the site nearest to the College should be selected, even should it occasion some addition to the expense; proximity to the College being, in his judgment, important to the health and comfort both of the Professor and of the students, as the night and the winter are the time and season specially adapted to astronomical observations. Mr. Adams strongly recommended a subscription to be opened for the purpose, and, upon condition that the requisite sum should be raised in two years, authorized a thousand dollars to be put down on his account, but requesting his name to be concealed. The attempt, however, did not succeed. In October, 1825, the time limited in his former subscription having expired, he wrote again to the same member of the Corporation on the subject, urged a renewal of the attempt, and renewed his offer of one thousand dollars, on the same conditional limitation of two years. About this time an address to the public was prepared and published,

* See Quincy's History of Harvard University, Vol. II. p. 566.

and a subscription was opened, but in the result proved insufficient.

"No further active endeavor was made for this object until the autumn of 1839. During the interval, the land formerly selected as a site for the Observatory had been purchased, and thus one great requisite for success was attained. This site for the Observatory was the best in the immediate vicinity of the College, and satisfactory. When the subject was communicated to the friends of the design, their opinion was unanimous that the opportunity was highly favorable for its commencement. Funds adequate to the buildings immediately requisite having been readily obtained, the house was furnished with all the additions that were needed to fit it for its intended purpose." *

Thus it appears, that, in about twenty-four years from the time that the first committee was appointed to purchase astronomical instruments for an observatory, a house was purchased, and such additions made to it as fitted it for the purpose, and the necessary apparatus was provided. The attempts of the Corporation to provide, by their committee, instruments, and purchase a suitable place for observations in the years 1816 and 1822, failed to accomplish anything. In October, 1823, Mr. Adams entered heartily into the subject, and in two years renewed his efforts, promising to be a subscriber in a liberal sum. A subscription was opened, but without success, and it was not until about fourteen years afterwards that the object, after laboring so long,

* This is the large square house at the corner of Harvard and Quincy Street.

was accomplished. No doubt the efforts of Mr. Adams and the influence of his name did much towards effecting this grand result. But still it was the infancy of the institution, compared with the noble growth which it attained in a few succeeding years, when buildings, constructed expressly for its purposes, and an apparatus as ample and perfect as could be desired, were provided by that individual munificence for which Massachusetts and its capital are so justly renowned.

Joseph McKean, D.D., LL.D., successor of the Hon. John Quincy Adams as Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, after graduating at Harvard College in the year 1794, devoted himself to the instruction of youth and preparation for the Christian ministry, and became the pastor of the Congregational Church in Milton, in the year 1797, the year in which he reached his majority. A severe illness, in the summer of 1805, left him so enfeebled, that he felt compelled to ask a dismission from his parochial charge. From the effects of this illness he probably never fully recovered; but he recovered to such a degree, that he was able, after a considerable interval, to preach frequently, and his services were highly appreciated. An earnest endeavor was made by the Hollis Street Church to induce him to become their permanent minister; but he declined to accept the office. The eulogy delivered after his death by Professor Hedge, his very intimate friend, contains a very just and discriminating view of his character, in the different official relations he sustained, and in domestic and social life. It is written with pleasing simplicity, and with affectionate feeling, manifestly sincere. My own intercourse with Professor McKean in his

study, in his family, at my own house, and everywhere, was so friendly and confiding, that, in my memory of it, I have nothing to lament but that final event which sooner or later comes to all, and closes that personal intercommunion which can be enjoyed only in the cherished memories of the past.

About half of the pupils of Professor McKean are living. A numerous host remain of those who received the benefit of Dr. Edward Tyrrel Channing's critical learning in the same department. His extensive reading of English authors in prose and verse, from the dawn of English literature to this day, his ability to appreciate them according to their just deserts and to make a practical use of them in his instructions, his cultivated taste, and his impartiality in awarding to every one his due, are well known to more than a thousand of his living pupils, who have a grateful remembrance of his patient and earnest instructions.

The names of the Tutors and the Librarian who, at the time that I resigned the post, came into office, (most opportunely for the benefit of the College in its unsettled condition,) I have barely mentioned. They are worthy of commemoration. Of these four gentlemen, one only is living, Ichabod Nichols, who was Tutor in the mathematical department. He remained in this office four years, in the faithful discharge of its duties, highly esteemed in every respect, and left it for the professional calling of his choice, in the year 1809. He was soon after ordained as colleague with the Rev. Dr. Samuel Deane, pastor of the ancient Congregational Church in Portland, Maine. Dr. Nichols is now the senior pastor of the same church, hav-

ing had, till within one or two years, the sole pastoral care since the death of Dr. Deane, in the year 1814. He is the venerated head of the clergy of similar doctrinal faith in that State. He was succeeded as Tutor by William Pitt Preble, whose services as Tutor were highly approved, and who has been among the distinguished men in the legal profession and in judicial office in the same State.

John Farrar was Tutor in the Greek department in the year 1805, and was chosen Hollis Professor of Mathematics in 1807: he was inaugurated in June of the latter year. This department of instruction is duly appreciated by a few only. But as a lecturer, Professor Farrar acquired general popularity, and sustained it without decline, until the state of his health, about the year 1830, was such that he was induced to ask for temporary relief from his College duties, hoping to be able to resume them after the experiment of foreign travel. But after a long absence, and little if any improvement in health, he resigned, soon after his return, his professorship. He was succeeded by Ashur Ware in the Tutor's office and in the Greek department, after a continuance in which of more than three years, the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland having been installed in the President's office, an expansion took place in terms of office and amount of salaries, and Messrs. Frisbie and Ware, in the Latin and Greek department, were made Professors, entitled, the first, College Professor of Latin, and the second, College Professor of Greek. Mr. Ware resigned his office in 1815, having been in the College service eight years; and at the same period, or during a large part of it, he was a student of law in the

office of Loammi Baldwin, Esq. Mr. Ware was a critical scholar, and a man of great learning and general information. In politics, he was of the Democratic party, and we used sometimes to have rather warm disputes upon public affairs; but the irritation was not lasting. Mr. Ware soon went to Maine, being the third in succession of the officers of the College who took that destination before it became a separate State. He distinguished himself quickly in his profession, and, not long after Maine was erected into an independent State, he was appointed District Judge of that district; in which office he has been held in high estimation for his legal knowledge and learned judicial decisions. But first of all, Peter Nourse, my successor as Librarian, and a classmate of Dr. Nichols, resigned his office in 1808, and settled in the ministry in Ellsworth, Maine.

Levi Frisbie continued in the office of College Professor of the Latin Language until the year 1817, at which time he was elected the first Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity.

The foundation of this professorship was laid by the appropriation of part of the estate of John Alford of Charlestown, a man of considerable wealth, who had been one of the Councillors in the General Court of the Province, made at the discretion of the executors, as given to them in the last will of the deceased. In this will, Alford, after giving certain legacies to his relations and others, bequeathed the remainder of his property to pious and charitable uses, at the discretion of his executors, Edmund Trowbridge of Cambridge, and Richard Cary of Charlestown. Difficulties arose respecting the settling of the estate on the part of the heirs at law,

and the whole matter was referred, by the heirs and executors, to five distinguished and judicious men, namely, Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Hubbard, Treasurer of the College, Judge James Russell of Charlestown, and the eminent lawyers, Jeremy Gridley and James Otis, for their opinion; who advised unanimously the payment of the testator's debts and the specific legacies, and that the remainder be divided into ten parts, and distributed six tenths among the heirs and relations, and that the other four tenths be applied to such pious and charitable uses as the executors, after proper consultation, should think most fit and useful. The parties agreed to accept this recommendation. The executors, reserving a small part for particular pious uses, distributed four tenths thus: one third part to Harvard College, one to the College in New Jersey, (where the greater part of the lands lay,) and one for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians.

In the year 1789, the executors appropriated the sum which they had reserved and paid to the College to a Professorship of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity. Then follow the statutes prescribing the duties of the Professor, which are very simple, and such as may be easily imagined, consisting chiefly of what relates to the courses of lectures on the different heads in the title of the professorship, and of the classes of students to which they shall be given.

The "Inaugural Address" of Mr. Frisbie is confined mainly to that part of the threefold title of the professorship named Moral Philosophy, its necessity, its objects, and its influence, as embracing the principles and obligations of duty, and having reference to those

studies and inquiries which have for their object the knowledge and improvement of the moral condition of man.

The Professor takes up some of the popular objections to moral science; namely, that moral sense and natural conscience supersede it, thus making no allowance for cultivation; and again, that the Scriptures furnish a perfect rule of right; not considering that the teachings of Scripture are preceptive, and that we need, for the proper exercise in the use of the gift, those powers which, no less than the Bible itself, are God's gift.

This Inaugural Address is not a popular effort for present effect, but a well-studied discourse, or introductory lecture to that branch of the subject included in the title of the professorship which the incumbent selected for his first course. The following short passage contains some excellent remarks upon the defective and false principles of morality in regard to the relations of states.

"In the relations of states, of rulers and subjects, the principles of morality and rules of conduct are indefinite and unsettled. That the law of nations is but the extension of those maxims of equity and kindness which should regulate the intercourse of individuals, till of late, seems, in practice at least, hardly to have been conceived. Expediency rather than right has been the great spring of political motion, and diplomacy but another name for intrigue and duplicity. The representative, in his seat, will advocate with his voice, and support with his vote, measures which the man, in the relations of private life, would blush to acknowledge.

Nor is this want of just sensibility confined to the statesman; with the citizen, to defraud the public is too often but an achievement of ingenuity; and even the scholar in his closet, while he kindles with indignation at the injustice or cruelty of an individual, reads the aggressions and ravages of nations with hardly a sentiment that they are crimes.

"Here, then, is much to be done; and there is also somewhat to encourage exertion. On these subjects are not juster views beginning to make their way? Negotiations are professed to be conducted more in the honorable spirit of frankness and conciliation. The laws, if not the practice, of civilized war have been softened into comparative mildness. Questions of national interest are debated, and the measures of governments examined, upon the broad basis of equity and truth, and statesmen compelled, if not to adopt, certainly to defend, their plans of policy, not by reasons of state, but reasons of right. If all this be in pretence more than in truth, still the necessity of hypocrisy is one proof of the existence of virtue. If the splendid pall be thrown over the bier, it is because men cannot bear the ghastliness of death."

Mr. Frisbie was a great reader of contemporary fictitious productions and poems which had acquired celebrity, and always looked sternly, and with a penetrating eye, to the moral and religious tendency and effect of them. There is a passage of great beauty near the close of his address, that touches upon this subject, which I cannot forbear to select.

"Although I have illustrated the moral influence of literature, principally from its mischiefs; yet it is obvious, if what I have said be just, it may be rendered no less powerful, as a means of good. Is it not true, that within the last century a decided and important improvement in the moral character of our literature has taken place? and, had Pope and Smollet written at the present day, would the former have published the imitations of Chaucer, or the latter the adventures of Pickle and Random? Genius cannot now sanctify impurity or want of principle; and our critics and reviewers are exercising jurisdiction, not only upon the literary, but moral, blemishes of the authors that come before them. We notice with peculiar pleasure the sentence of just indignation which the Edinburgh tribunal has pronounced upon Moore, Swift, Goethe, and, in general, the German sentimentalists. Indeed, the fountains of literature into which an enemy has sometimes infused poison, naturally flow with refreshment and health. Cowper and Campbell have led the Muses to repose in the bowers of religion and virtue; and Miss Edgeworth has so cautiously combined the features of her characters, that the predominant expression is ever what it should be; she has shown us, not vices ennobled by virtues, but virtues degraded and perverted by their union with vices. The success of this lady has been great, but had she availed herself more of the motives and sentiments of religion, we think it would have been greater. She has stretched forth a powerful hand to the impotent in virtue; and had she added, with the Apostle, in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, we should almost have expected miracles from its touch."

For his knowledge of authors, both in Latin and in

English, Mr. Frisbie was indebted to the kindness of his friends and pupils, who were eyes to the blind; to the blind, I say, for his own eyes, except for a moment in cases of emergency, were useless for reading, and so far he was virtually sightless. He could look, if in the right position, at the countenances of his companions, and, if not too glaring, at the face of outward nature, the superficies, and enjoy its shifting scenes of animal and vegetable life; but the pleasure was often mingled with pain, or followed by injurious effects. Always he could procure students to read to him. Many regarded this as a privilege, and were richly repaid by his explanations and critical remarks.

It is said by a biographer of Milton, that, at a certain period of his life, "he constantly kept some one to read to him, and usually the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom he took in kindness, that he might, at the same time, improve him in his learning. Elwood, one of the readers recommended to him, whom he employed, said, that Milton told him, if he would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners, either abroad or at home, he must learn the foreign pronunciation, and he instructed him how to read accordingly. 'And Milton, having a curious ear, understood by my tone,' said Elwood, 'when I understood what I read, and when I did not; and he would stop me, and examine me, and open the most difficult passages to me.'" At Harvard College we have been accustomed to a uniform pronunciation of Latin, according to the English practice, and Mr. Frisbie, like Milton, could doubtless perceive when his reader understood

what he read, and when he did not; and therefore made the requisite comments and explanations as occasion demanded, and according to the exigencies of the case.

His unwritten lectures on moral philosophy were much admired. He was gifted with a natural fluency, cultivated by learning; and as from day to day, by reason of his inability to read, on account of the weakness of his eyes, he had many hours for meditation and reflection upon what was read to him by others, he became remarkably familiar with the popular literature of the day, and no less an eminent and eloquent extemporary reviewer of the publications of the times, in social domestic circles, into which he was received with lively pleasure. His health, which never appeared to be vigorous, gradually declined in the year 1821, and more and more perceptibly in the winter and spring of 1822. In the latter season, I took him out to ride with me several times, and could perceive the ravages of disease upon his wasted form, and his increased debility. He lingered until the 9th of July, 1822, on which day he died, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. An "Address delivered before the University in Cambridge, at the Interment of Professor Frisbie, July 12, 1822, by Andrews Norton, Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature," was printed; to which was added, "An Obituary Notice, extracted from the Boston Daily Advertiser of July 13th. [Written by Professor Farrar.]"

CHAPTER XXIX.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Monthly Anthology. — Chosen Member of the Society. — Cambridge Members. — Other Members. — Meetings. — Library; its Increase. — Correspondence of William Shaw with Rev. J. S Buckminster, while the latter was in England. — Trustees of the Library. — The Library transferred by them to an Incorporated Board of Trustees. — Members of the Anthology Society constituted Life-Members of the Reading-Room and Library, so far as relates to the Use of the Same.

It appears, from what I have said before, that the forming of the Anthology Society was the *accident* rather, and that the book was the creature of *design*, — the design of an individual. There are but two things by means of which such a book can grow and live long, and these are money and sympathy, and, in the case of individuals, both. Thus, if the projector who furnishes the literary materials has not money enough to pay the printer and publisher, and these are not able to take the risk of gaining friends, by the merits of the work, numerous enough to pay the price, it must surely die, and that very soon. This was the precarious condition of the Monthly Anthology from its birth until it had lived, through its poverty and struggles, the first

half-year; then it was sustained by the sympathy of a few individuals, separately. The bond was not strong enough, and sympathy was strengthened by union, instead of partial concert. But even when united in social compact, occasional misgivings would spring up in the minds even of the unselfish. To make use of a vulgar saying, this working for the public for nothing, and paying one's own expenses, is a poor business. Still, the social pleasures and benefits were no small compensation.

It was in the same month that I was elected Professor in the University, namely, December, 1806, that I was also nominated for admission into the Anthology Society, together with Rev. Joseph McKean. My friend, Edmund T. Dana, from early youth and onward, and now in old age, always my most intimate friend, was, says the record, requested "to confer with Mr. Willard on the subject, so far as to ascertain his wishes." At the next meeting, January 22, as it is recorded, "Mr. Professor Willard and Rev. Joseph McKean were admitted to our Society"; and "Mr. Dana was requested to inform the former, and Dr. Kirkland the latter." January 29. "Neither of the new-elected members appeared in his seat." February 5. "Mr. Professor Willard appeared in his place as a member of our Society." "Tooke's Diversions of Purley were assigned to Mr. Willard," for notice. February 12. "Rev. Mr. McKean and Mr. [Winthrop] Sargent took their seats at this meeting, which was the fullest ever known, fourteen members appearing in the course of the evening." "Historical Collections, Vol. VIII., assigned to Mr. McKean, and Vol. IX. to Mr. Willard,

for review"; and a time for the performance of the work was also assigned.

These items, taken from the records of the Society, show how provident the Society were in anticipating their wants, and were thus enabled to finish their monthly work in and with punctuality.

Mr. Edmund T. Dana was my constant companion in going to and from the weekly meetings of the Society. We always walked, and were seldom absent, except we were prevented from attending by the inclemency of the weather. He was a great reader, and remarkably conversant with the writings of all the best English poets and dramatists. Without any contentious spirit in matters of taste, he was well established in his opinions of the authors he had read, and was regarded and selected by his club-mates as a suitable member to pass judgment on the poetical effusions that were sent to the Society for publication. A natural talker, neither prolix nor dogmatical, he was always attentively listened to by those whom he addressed, and ready to listen in turn. What he was then, he has always been since, save the stealthy and almost imperceptible approaches of old age. Mr. Dana withdrew from the Anthology Club more than a year before its dissolution, to the great regret of its members.

Samuel Cooper Thacher sailed from Boston for England in June, 1806, to join Mr. Buckminster in London; and after they had executed their plans of travel, they embarked together at Liverpool in August, 1807, and arrived at Boston in September. The first meeting of the Anthology Club they attended was on the 25th of that month. In the year 1808, Mr.

Thacher was chosen Librarian of Harvard College. Thus I enjoyed the companionship of two club-mates, in my walks to Boston and back on club evenings, for a few weeks, and that of Mr. Thacher until the meetings ceased. My intercourse with Mr. Thacher while he was Librarian was of the most friendly and familiar kind. Many times we examined together articles communicated for publication in the Anthology, either to decide on their fitness or for emendations. He was an elegant scholar, and an exact critic in matters of taste and philology. Under the constitution formed for the Society, he was appointed Editor of the Anthology; but objecting to the name, as implying too great responsibility, he consented to perform the duties, changing the name to that of Superintendent, until his voyage to Europe. No one was more ready than he to perform his part in contributing to the literary materials of the Anthology. Although he was the youngest of the original members of the Society, being only in the twentieth year of his age when it was formed, his mind and judgment were remarkably mature; and no one was more fully confided in by his associates for the satisfactory performance of any literary undertaking that was assigned to him, with his consent.

One of the most elaborate articles in the Anthology is the product of his pen; namely, a review of "The Constitution and Associate Statutes of the Theological Seminary in Andover; with a Sketch of its Rise and Progress. Published by the Order of its Trustees. 1808."

This review I suppose must be classed in the category of polemics, though nothing was more foreign to

the author than a pervading militant spirit, and a war of words merely for the sake of victory. His introductory remarks clearly manifest this. At the period when he was writing, he acknowledged that the state of critical theology among the clergy of this country was lamentably low and defective, and expressed the gratification he had felt in the prospect of an institution in which candidates for the ministry were to be initiated into that kind of learning which centred in the Sacred Scriptures. With the doctrinal opinions of the teachers in such an institution he sought no quarrel. "We profess, then," he says, "before we commence the review of this pamphlet, that we rejoice in the foundation of a Theological Academy at Andover; we do not lament that it is directed by men whose opinions differ from ours; and our only inquiry will be, whether the principles on which it is established are such as in any degree to impair or destroy the good which such an institution is calculated to effect."

The reviewer, speaking of the creed of the Seminary as a compromise between the Calvinists and Hopkinsians, each party claiming to be Orthodox, gives the palm, in point of sagacity, to the latter. "The *only* article in which the Calvinists differ from the Hopkinsians is *omitted*, and almost every important article which the Hopkinsians *add* to Calvinism is either expressed or strongly implied." It might well be asked, How can permanent harmony be expected of the parties represented in the formation of such a creed? It has already been answered by the controversies that have sprung up between them. It was a weak point of a writer in the Panoplist, who replied to the review in

the Anthology, that the author of the review was influenced by "a desire of interrupting the harmony of two sects who had agreed to forget their differences." The reviewer stated facts; the "two sects" came to blows of their *free will*, a doctrine which some of them denied.

While this controversy was going on without, the Professors in their studies, though not relieved from signing the quinquennial creed, did not probably believe that the defence of it was their chief duty. The creed itself was irrevocable, and declared to be so when it was adopted. "It is strictly and solemnly enjoined, and left in sacred charge, that every article of the above creed shall *for ever* remain entirely and identically the same, without the least alteration, addition, or diminution." This transcends Papacy. The Pope and his Church are infallible for the time being, but when another Pope succeeds, whatever changes take place, and however inconsistent these may be with prior decrees, he is alike infallible.

Mr. Thacher defended his review, in an article in the Anthology, against the attack in the Panoplist, and concluded his defence thus: —

"The whole object which induced us to enter into this unpleasant controversy has been attained. We were desirous of reminding those men who were attacking our friends, invading the tranquillity of our churches, and attempting to revive the exploded absurdities of the Dark Ages, that the friends of rational and Scriptural religion, though enemies of theological polemics, are not so because their antagonists have nothing vulnerable in their system. The charge which they bring, that we have

been influenced in this affair by a desire of interrupting the harmony of two sects who had agreed to forget their differences, will not be believed. We disdain the imputation. We attacked them, not because they are Hopkinsians, and not because they are Calvinists, but because their conduct and their principles, we believe, all honest Calvinists and Hopkinsians ought to unite in condemning. The charges we have adduced and supported are not to be thus evaded. It stands on record against this institution, and all the waters of the ocean can never wash out the stain, that it has been made what it is by perverting the pious liberality of well-meaning devotion, and sacrificing the first principles of Protestantism to the gratification of the unholy ambition of aspiring heresiarchs."

This severe rejoinder came from one of the most kind-hearted men in the community, because he thought duty required it; from one who thought that free inquiry was an inalienable right; that reason and revelation were both God's gifts, and that he did not require that the light of the one should be extinguished, in order that the teachings of the other should be blindly received.

A regular journal of the proceedings at the meetings of the Anthology was kept by the Secretary. Walter held this office from the time of organizing the Society, October 3, 1805, until November 6, 1806, the last meeting that he attended; soon after which he declined rapidly, and died January 2, 1807. William Shaw officiated in his stead during his illness, and after his decease James Savage was chosen as his successor, and continued to perform its duties with constancy and that undeviating

fidelity for which he has been justly extolled in all matters of business and responsible trusts in which he has been engaged. There were no oaths or promises of secrecy in regard to the doings of the Society. The articles presented by members were usually read, sometimes only in part, and sometimes referred to one or more members. The latter was frequently the case when the brotherhood grew weary or impatient, or composed themselves to sleep.

During a year or more after the Society was formed, the members held their meetings at each other's houses or boarding-places, or other places provided; but about the time I joined the Society, fifteen months after its origin, we had a common provider, who served us with simple refreshments for supper in a room where we had our literary and social fare. These meetings were generally very pleasant; and the President, Dr. Gardiner, who was constant in attendance for several years, had the faculty, when any business or reading became dull, to change the scene; and, aided by the variety of interlocutory olios, the scene sometimes became so farcically dramatic as to draw forth torrents of laughter.

In looking through the records of the Society's meetings, though they were intended only for the members at the time being, there are some things found worth preserving; some things, perhaps, from which the veil ought not to be removed, and many things indifferent or of little importance.

On the 6th of February, 1806, a new head was added to the department of Review, to be called Notices, in which a short account and general criticism shall be

given of all foreign works reprinted in this country. Forthwith several books were assigned to different members, some of which were noticed accordingly, and some were not.

May 2, 1806. A meeting was held upon the subject of a Reading-Room, proposed by Mr. Shaw, which met great approbation. A committee of five was appointed to consider the whole matter and report to the Society. The committee were the President, Vice-President, and Messrs. Shaw, Buckminster, and the Secretary.

May 5. The committee met at Dr. Gardiner's, the President, and Mr. Shaw read a prospectus, which underwent a number of alterations, and the name of the establishment was to be The Anthology Reading-Room. The prospectus, as amended, was reported by the committee to the Society on the same day, and accepted. The whole transaction was completed at the President's house, where the Society had been invited to dine, and was approved of by other gentlemen, who were invited guests.

May 8. The Society dined with Mr. Buckminster, who was about embarking for England; and among other things it was voted that he be requested "to write letters from Europe during his travels."

April 2, 1807. A committee previously appointed to devise a "plan for supplying the Anthology" (that is, the book) with reading-matter, reported: 1. To add a new department, including General Literature and Polite Arts. 2. That a series of Essays be furnished introductory to a course of study, and recommending the best authors in the various departments of Science and Literature. 3. That the gentlemen who write the

Remarker be designated. 4. That the gentlemen who write Sylva be designated. 5. That a standing committee of two be appointed semiannually to report weekly what books ought to be reviewed, and to nominate the reviewers of such works; so that a gentleman named as a reviewer of any work shall at the same or the next meeting express his assent or dissent, and specify the time when his review shall be ready for publication. 6. That when any two pieces other than reviews shall fall to any members for the same month, it shall be the duty of the next in rotation to take his turn, upon its being notified to him.

The report was accepted, and the Society proceeded to assign the various departments, viz.:—1. On General Literature and Polite Arts, to J. S. J. Gardiner and Messrs. Buckminster, Kirkland, Field, and Willard; and Mr. Gardiner took notice of his duty to provide the first Essay. 2. On a Course of Study, to Messrs. McKean, Gorham, Emerson, P. Thacher, and Kirkland. 3. The Remarker, to Messrs. J. S. J. Gardiner, Savage, Field, and S. C. Thacher. 4. The Sylva, to Messrs. Sargent, B. Welles, Shaw, McKean, and Tudor.

Mr. P. Thacher declined the part assigned to him, and there were some exchanges, then or afterwards, one member with another.

September 25, 1807. Messrs. Buckminster and Thacher, having returned from their travels, met with the Society.

November 4, 1807. It was the general opinion, that the Anthology had been some time languishing, and required some extraordinary exertion to support it; that the members of the Club had lost much of their interest

in its welfare by the intermission of regular meetings; that the funds were in a bad state, by the negligence of the printers; and that the times required the Anthology to vindicate its authority. — Voted, that Messrs. Savage and Buckminster be a committee, with general power, to inquire into whatever may subserve our pecuniary interest.

For several months complaints of poverty, troubles with the printer, &c. occur in the record, and again a dearth of materials for printing after an abundant harvest, and such vicissitudes as are incidental to all human institutions. The last expedient adopted to strengthen and increase the variety and attractiveness of the Anthology was the choice of corresponding members. Many were elected, but few contributed anything more than their good wishes in aid of the publication. Mr. Frisbie responded very liberally to the overtures of the Society, and sent a large number of original poetical pieces and beautiful poetical translations from Latin authors.

This attempt to add forces for sustaining our publication was resolved upon in September, 1809. It struggled through another year, much of the time very despondingly. Towards its close, an attempt was made to provide an editor. Mr. Andrews Norton was willing to take the office on certain conditions. But when a searching inquiry was made into the state of the funds, it was found that we and our printers were bankrupt, and the Society could assume no responsibility for the payment of an editor. The year 1811 was near, trampling on the heels of 1810, and at the meeting January 1, 1811, the Secretary, Mr. Savage, (so says

the record,) read the Annual Preface, by Mr. Willard. Seeing this record forty-five years after the fact, I had the curiosity to look at the last volume of the Anthology, which, indeed, I had looked at a few weeks before, and also read the Preface, without suspecting any one as the author. It being determined by the Society not to turn their backs on their patrons and friends without warning, it was concluded to have a respectful introduction and close at the beginning and end of a volume for the first part of the year 1811, and my Prefatory Address, and Mr. S. C. Thacher's Concluding Address, for Volume X. and last, were printed. The Society came to a full close July 2, 1811, and the record is, —

"Anthology Society
Finis."

I close these cursory notices with the prefatory and concluding addresses. The prefatory address, which was written, and probably printed, before the hope of obtaining an editor for the Anthology was entirely abandoned, is as follows: —

"In addressing our readers at the commencement of a new year, it may be expected, either that we are about to minister to our own self-complacency by reviewing our past labors, or to feed the hopes of our friends with generous promises for the future. At once, to put an end to mere conjecture, we must observe, that no other motive operates in the case than that which is derived from precedent: we choose not at present to omit what for so many years has been performed.

"If we are asked what we have done to deserve the thanks and patronage of the public, we are no doubt obliged to answer the question, and, as far as possible,

to vindicate our claims to both. It is very certain, however, that we shall not make out our title to either, by fair professions of disinterested exertions in the cause of learning. The public takes no cognizance of motives in matters of taste. A good-natured man may write originally for his own amusement, and afterwards print for the amusement of others. But if he chance to fail in the last attempt, which, by the way, it is rather more probable he will do than in the first, they who are as good-natured as himself may yet think themselves entitled to a laugh; and a laugh carries with it more terrors to an author than all the frowns of the satirist. We are aware that we cannot persuade our readers to be grateful for anything we present, unless they esteem it of positive value. And, in consequence of their different sorts of taste, degrees of learning, and extent of intellectual capacity, their decisions will be various upon what we offer them. A censor of a severe and saturnine stamp will set down to the sum of graceless levity what another of a more cheerful cast will regard as the innocent recreation of literature. If a man's favorite opinions happen to be assailed, we must lay our account in meeting nothing less than the charge of ignorance or prejudice. Sensibility to the literary reputation of friends seems also to be a very prominent and not unamiable virtue among some whose good opinions we should take no pains to alienate; and this adds one more to the catalogue of those difficulties not connected with the well or ill performance of our duties which we must sometimes contend with.

"Since the readers of such a work as we wish the Anthology to be must of necessity be not very numerous, the contrarieties of character and inclination which we are often called on to gratify and regard must sometimes occasion embarrassment, as well in our personal contributions as in our selections for the work; and in our remarks on the works of others, since the adventurers for the meed of literary fame are few, and often personally known to us, an unwillingness to give offence is liable to check that boldness and freedom of criticism which, however mortifying it may sometimes prove to individuals, is in the main a great public good.

"There are here no parties among literary and scientific men, except political and religious parties, and such as spring merely from collisions among professional gentlemen. These parties, though they serve to sharpen the wits and raise the zeal of those who are engaged in them, do not necessarily promote the cause of learning; and they are sure to impair that of benevolence. We do not, therefore, voluntarily enlist in the service of any party; yet, when we are either called in the way of defence, or impelled by a sense of duty, to become militant either in affairs of church or state, we do not shrink from the contest. We always lament the occasion, but cannot always refuse taking our share in resisting every species of bigotry and intolerance; especially in religion, where our highest interests are involved.

"In countries where literature, as such, is as much a business as any profession or handicraft, and every caterer in letters knows what sort of guests he has to provide for, and how he can best gratify their tastes, with tolerable talents for his office, he is sure to derive a profit from his employment. Opposition strengthens

his friends, and makes him more sedulous to please them; but the absence of it is indifference, frequently a fatal indifference. Here, on the other hand, union is strength, and opposition, to be harmless, must also be solitary and scattered.

"One of the greatest inconveniences we experience from month to month is that which arises from the want of an editor devoted to the work, whose literary reputation would be in a measure at stake. Hitherto the receipts of the Anthology have not enabled us to make such a provision. One of our number has voluntarily assumed the responsibility of seeing the work through the press; and when the materials have not been furnished to his hands, he has been obliged to make such hasty selections, in order to complete the requisite number of pages, as his leisure amidst professional engagements would permit. For this evil we have the prospect of a speedy remedy, and if our hopes are not disappointed, the Anthology will be placed under the peculiar care of a gentleman whose learning, talents, and taste will enable him to make it all that its friends can desire. Those who have hitherto contributed to it will still continue their exertions; and will, we hope, acquire new energy from the recollection that they are writing in the cause of a friend. If this should take place, we shall, we trust, be able *paulo majora canere.*

"In looking over the contents of the Anthology for the last year, we find fewer occasions than we could wish for expressing our thanks to correspondents. But we recollect with grateful pleasure the entertainment we have received from the journal of a tour in Spain,

from the philological disquisitions of a distant correspondent, and from the delicate verses of the author of *Myrtilla*, who had before favored us with that amusing and highly poetical ballad, *The Paint-King.*

"We have only to subjoin our thanks to new subscribers, and those who continue to patronize the Anthology. Our aim is to afford them rational entertainment; when *they* are disappointed, *we* are mortified. If we cannot always provide for them what we wish, we would rather put before them a dry morsel, than anything nauseous or disgusting. In this way, if we are sometimes obliged to offer for their acceptance what is not the best in its kind, we shall always, we hope, avoid offering that which is positively bad. The work, however, must be of no inconsiderable value, as a general repository of elegant letters, and will not be condemned by generous critics, because it is not always equally interesting."

The concluding address is as follows: —

"As we have never laid claim to any extraordinary measure of sensibility, it may be supposed that they who have so long wielded the scourge of criticism, and bathed their hands in the blood of so many ill-fated candidates for fame, must have extinguished the usual feelings and weakness of our nature. Yet, incredible as it may seem, we do confess, with all our obduracy, that we cannot remain wholly unaffected when we announce that with the present number our labors in the Anthology are to be brought to a close. After having for so many years found, in preparing materials for this work, the amusement and solace of our leisure hours, and in the little circle which interest in its welfare has weekly brought together an innocent and

cheerful, if not always very philosophic relaxation, we feel, in finally dismissing it from our hands, something of that sadness steal over us which is experienced in losing a good-natured and long-tried, though not perhaps very valuable friend.

'Farewell!
I could have better spared a better man.
O, I shall have a heavy miss of thee!'

"We do not suppose that the intention we have thus announced will spread much consternation, or that the absence of the Anthology will create any very alarming vacuum in the literary world. There may be some who will remember us with kindness, and a few with regret; but, on the whole, we are inclined to think that the waves will roll as peacefully, and the skies appear as blue, and the sun shine as gayly, on the day of our departure, as though we still existed. Such is the fate which, from the nature of the work, we have always expected to be heirs to. He who writes for a journal must not be disappointed, though his fame should moulder a good deal sooner than the pyramids of Egypt.

"In arriving at the termination of labors, which, if not very important, have at least been long continued, it is natural to inquire to what purpose we have toiled. In looking back on our pages, we find, as in every fair review of human life, some things to regret; some things of no very positive character; and some, *pace omnium bonorum*, be it said, which we are disposed to regard as not wholly vain and unprofitable. We do confess, — for in our last moments it becomes us to be honest, — that, in reviewing our labors, we find some

criticisms on our conscience, in which a juvenile love of point and smartness may have betrayed us into asperity and want of candor, and in which we may seem to have thought too much of the reputation of the reviewer, and too little of the rights and feelings of the author. We must in fairness also own, that it has been incident to our lucubrations to be sometimes crude and indigested, and sometimes meagre and weak; and our remarks have been usually delivered in quite as oracular a tone as was justified, either by the authority of the critics, or the intrinsic weight of their judgments. We make these frank acknowledgments of our faults, because we would willingly go out of the world in charity with all mankind. They are the faults of youth; and young men, we know, are always dogmatical, and usually vain.

"But we will not affect more humility than we feel. The Anthology, though never what we or its friends could have wished to see it, has yet some claims on the regard of the public. The leading objects to which it has been devoted are such as we can never be ashamed to have pursued, however we may regret the imperfection of our approaches to them. To cultivate and gratify the taste of the lovers of polite letters has been the principal design of our Miscellany, though we have rejected nothing which might appear to aid the general cause of sound science. In pursuing this design, we have endeavored always to feel and to recognize the obligation which is laid on every writer to regulate and sanctify all his speculations by a supreme regard to the interests of virtue and religion. In conducting our critical department, we have had a task of

more delicacy, in executing which, from its very nature, we could not hope for universal approbation. With whatever faults, however, it may have been chargeable, of this at least we are sure: that we have never knowingly suffered any sentiment of *personal* hostility to mingle with any of our criticisms; nor have we ever used the immunities of invisibility to shelter us in launching the "firebrands, arrows, and death" of slander and malignity. We claim also this merit, that we have never lent ourselves to the service of any party, political or theological; we have never courted the suffrages of the great vulgar, nor attempted to enlist the prejudices of the small; have never felt, in any discussion in which we have been engaged, that we have had any other cause to serve than that of truth and good learning. On this subject we speak confidently. Of the soundness of the great principles in politics and religion which we have advanced, we can deliberately reaffirm our honest conviction. We claim the praise of having been uniformly true to them; and on this ground it is, that, in going off the scene, we do not fear to say to the spectators: *Plaudite, omnes.*

"There may be some who, in taking their last leave of the Anthology, may be prompted by kindness or curiosity, or both, to inquire why we are now induced to discontinue it. We answer, that we are influenced not by one, but many reasons; the weight of which we have long felt, though we have hesitated to obey them. At the commencement of the year, we hinted at some of the inconveniences which arise from the manner in which the Anthology has been conducted, and suggested our hopes that we should be relieved from them by

giving the principal care of the publication to a permanent editor. In this we have been disappointed, from the inadequacy of the receipts of the Anthology to repay the labor of any gentleman to whom we should be willing to confide it. Our auxiliaries also, at no time numerous, though always valuable, have lately been diminished. Our own ranks, too, have been thinned by desertion and death, and many of us feel the claims of professional duties to all the time we can command. Upon the whole, too, the Anthology has perhaps lived long enough, and its future existence, at least for the present, would be forced and unnatural. It may be, however, that at some future day we shall attempt to revive it, and possibly in a new form and under brighter auspices. With this mysterious and prophetic intimation any of our readers, who may find themselves disconsolate at its loss, may endeavor to comfort themselves.

"It now only remains that we should offer our thanks to the friends who have aided us by their contributions, and rewarded us by their approbation. The assistance we have received, though not frequent nor great, has been from sources to which any one might be proud to owe an obligation. If we felt at liberty, we might flatter ourselves very agreeably by enumerating the names of those who have occasionally condescended to grace the pages of the Anthology with their writings. We regret that we have not been able to secure to them a less perishable existence. In returning our thanks for the patronage we have received, our gratitude may be the more valuable as it is not to be very widely distributed. Yet, though we have never been in danger of

being intoxicated by universal applause, we have been animated by the praises and support of those from whom they are most grateful. We must content ourselves with a general acknowledgment of our obligation. We cannot, however, refuse ourselves the gratification of an expression of our thanks to our friend Dennie of the Port Folio, who has so often cheered us by his kind and generous encouragement. We offer him our cordial wishes for the success of his labors, and hope they may receive a more solid compensation than the feeble whispers of our praise.

"In taking our final leave of the public, we yet linger awhile. It is because we have a mournful duty to perform. It would be unjust that the pages of the Anthology should be closed without at least a passing tribute to the memory of a man to whose zeal and activity we owe it that our work did not perish at its birth. Though the pressure of other cares had prevented him from giving much direct assistance to us during the last years of his life, yet we were always sure of his smiles and good wishes. His short and active course is now ended; but his bright example still remains, and 'marshals us on' in the path of virtue and piety.

'Peace to the memory of a man of worth,
A man of letters and of manners too.'"

Mr. Quincy, in preparing his History of the Boston Athenæum, was necessarily led to examine that of the Anthology Society, so far as it is connected with the Athenæum. This was indispensable to his purpose; for the connection is so intimate, that it cannot be severed or disjoined. This connection led him also to

revive his recollections, and extend his knowledge, of the literary character and contents of the Monthly Anthology. The following remarks of his may well come in here, as a just tribute to the disinterested services of the Anthology Society, which ought never to be forgotten.

"The Society maintained its existence with reputation for about six years, and issued ten octavo volumes from the press, constituting one of the most lasting and honorable monuments of the taste and literature of the period. Its labors may be considered as a true revival of polite learning in this country, after that decay and neglect which resulted from the distractions of the Revolutionary War, and as forming an epoch in the intellectual history of the United States. Its records yet remain an evidence that it was a pleasant, active, high-principled association of literary men, laboring harmoniously to elevate the literary standard of the time, and with a success which may well be regarded as remarkable, considering the little sympathy they received from the community, and the many difficulties with which they had to struggle."

Here, also, is a suitable place to insert the names of the members of the Anthology Society. The founders, as they may be rightly called, were John Sylvester John Gardiner, William Emerson, Arthur Maynard Walter, William Smith Shaw, Samuel Cooper Thacher, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, Joseph Tuckerman, Peter Thacher, William Tudor, Jr., Thomas Gray, William Wells, Edmund Trowbridge Dana, John Collins Warren, and James Jackson. Six of the number were clergymen, two were physicians, three were lawyers, one was a

bookseller and instructor in Latin and Greek classics, one was a gentleman of mercantile education, and was employed in mercantile agencies, but was also a man of scholarly habits, and one was a gentleman of learned leisure, who held familiar converse with English poets and dramatists, and, in general, was well acquainted with English literature and European works of art. This number, fourteen, was increased from time to time as aid became more and more requisite, in consequence of increasing demands made upon the professional men in their respective callings. In December, 1805, Benjamin Welles and Robert Hallowell Gardiner were elected members of the Society. In June, 1806, Robert Field was chosen; in July, James Savage; and in October of the same year, John Thornton Kirkland. These gentlemen, added to the original fourteen, and making nineteen in all, were the only members who constituted the Anthology Society when it was proposed to place the library in the hands of trustees. Mr. Shaw, the Treasurer, — himself a treasure, not only in managing the money matters of the Society, but in all its business affairs, — from the time when the members first presented their gifts of magazines, reviews, &c., many of them imperfect sets, until he got a sanction from the Society to issue a Prospectus for Establishing a Reading-Room, had been indefatigable in procuring books from members of the Society and others, and in obtaining promises of books for deposit. During this period of laborious service, he had been remarkably successful in obtaining books, which were placed on shelves in a large room in Scollay's Building, in which Walter had his office.

The Prospectus was adopted May 5, 1806, and was entitled, "Proposal for the Establishing of a Reading-Room in Boston, to be called the Anthology Reading-Room." This was a great step. In all his previous exertions to collect books, with this ultimate end in view, he had met with little encouragement, but, on the contrary, with ridicule in quarters from which it ought not to have come, amounting almost to cruelty. But he became hardened. His purpose had taken too fast hold of him to be shaken; he saw farther than any other into the future, in regard to the accomplishment of his purpose; and his triumph over all the banter and coldness and discouragement of every kind was signal. Now he pursued his work with increased ardor. The men to whom he looked for encouragement he well knew, and his sagacity directed him where to begin. Indeed, he knew everybody. The annual subscription named in the Prospectus was ten dollars.

Mr. Quincy, in his Preface to the History of the Boston Athenæum, says: "My own early interest in the design which thus occupied Mr. Shaw's thoughts and affections is indicated by the records of the institution, which show that my name was the fourth on the list of the first subscribers, and that my subscription was the largest that the terms of the first subscription allowed. My duties at that period, as a member of the Congress of the United States from Boston, prevented my being a member of the Anthology Club, or holding any official connection with the Athenæum until my resignation of my station at Washington in 1813. During the fifteen succeeding years, I was elected without intermission into the board of Trustees; and during the last nine

of those years, and until my removal to Harvard University, in 1829, I was President of the Athenæum. These circumstances induced me to comply with the request of the officers of the Athenæum, as there seemed to be no other individual who united the kind of qualifications they conferred with leisure to make the researches and apply the labor required."

The result was a subscription of upwards of sixteen hundred dollars, by more than one hundred subscribers. Again says Mr. Quincy: —

"On the 30th of October, 1806, a plan for transferring the Library of the Society, and placing the public Reading-Room, which they had established in the May preceding, under the control of a body politic, to be chartered by the Legislature, was matured, and incipient steps were taken to carry it into effect. For this purpose, five trustees, William Emerson, John Thornton Kirkland, Peter Oxenbridge Thacher, William Smith Shaw, and Arthur Maynard Walter, were elected by ballot, to whom, by a formal legal instrument, all the associated members 'granted, bargained, and sold all the books, papers, and other property' belonging to the institution. The indenture contained many provisions, having for their object to insure the application of the transferred property to the original purpose of the Anthology Society. The substantial authority conveyed was, however, contained in the following clause: 'And, should it ever hereafter be for the benefit of the institution to convert the same into a body politic, under a charter from the government of this Commonwealth, the said trustees severally engage to resign their trust, and to make such transfer to such body politic, by whatever name the same shall be called, as shall vest the property in the same as fully as it is now vested in the said trustees.'

"The trustees also engaged 'to preserve the property; to enlarge the Library from time to time; to render it more valuable by sale, exchange, purchase, and otherwise; and to use their best endeavors to obtain subscriptions, donations, and deposits.'

"To the increase of the institution, the Society also devoted the profits which should accrue from the 'Monthly Anthology'; in which they afterwards repeatedly urged this fact, by way of inducement to the public to become subscribers to the Anthology, and thus benefactors to the Athenæum."

The Trustees thus elected by the Society, to which additions were afterwards made, petitioned the Legislature of Massachusetts for a charter constituting them a body politic and corporate, in the year 1807, and an act was accordingly passed to that effect. The names included in the act of incorporation are Theophilus Parsons, John Davis, John Lowell, William Emerson, John T. Kirkland, Peter Thacher, William S. Shaw, Robert Hallowell Gardiner, Joseph S. Buckminster, and Obadiah Rich. The name given to the institution in the act is The Boston Athenæum. Mr. Shaw was chosen Librarian, and not only took good care of what was placed under his charge, but procured, by personal efforts, many additions.

I intended to make some extracts from Mr. Shaw's letters to Mr. Buckminster while the latter was in England, particularly relating to books in connection with the growing library; but it would extend my account of

matters relating to the Anthology Reading-Room too far, should I make extracts of such length as would be satisfactory to myself or my readers. What the grand results have been from these small beginnings is now seen and widely known in the building and the library of the Boston Athenæum.

The members added to the Society after the library was transferred to trustees were John Gorham, Joseph McKean, Sidney Willard, Winthrop Sargent, Andrew Ritchie, Alexander Hill Everett, George Ticknor, John Stickney, Andrews Norton, Jacob Bigelow, and Joseph Head.

CHAPTER XXX.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

The General Repository and Review. — Andrews Norton. — North American Review. — Its several Editors. — The Christian Disciple and Christian Examiner.

It was to be expected, after the only periodical work in Massachusetts which had been sustained for several years had expired, that some effort would be made to fill its place, which perhaps would be less miscellaneous, but still not confined to reviews. The General Repository and Review was conducted by Mr. Andrews Norton, the Librarian of Harvard College. It was a quarterly publication, and began with the year 1812, and continued two years. It consisted of four departments; namely, Theological, Literary, Miscellaneous, Reviews, and Intelligence.

Mr. Andrews Norton, it was hoped at the time when the printing of the tenth volume of the Monthly Anthology was begun, might be induced to become the editor of the work, while the Society should still retain its organization and give its aid. This Mr. Norton was ready to do, for a very moderate compensation. But when the Society's affairs were looked into, they were so hopeless in regard to the future, that the attempt to secure his services was abandoned.

The four volumes of his Repository and Review contain many valuable and interesting articles, some of them too learned for general readers. However this may be, he relinquished the work at the close of the eighth number.

In this work I readily promised him my assistance, and began with the translation of a German article, which I had partly read, contained in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der Biblischen Litteratur.* Leipzig, 1793. This was printed in four parts.

To the first part Mr. Norton prefixed this note: —

"For this translation we are indebted to a gentleman from whose friendship and whose various learning we hope for other favors. It is taken from a publication of Eichhorn, well known, at least by name, to the learned. Its German title is given below, and may be thus translated: 'The Universal Library of Biblical Literature.' It is a periodical publication containing writings relating to theological subjects. We suppose the lives of few men will be more interesting to the theological student than that of Semler. The biography is probably written by Eichhorn himself."

At the close of the second part, the editor says: "In the following continuation of the life of Semler, the theological student, as we trust, and the general scholar, will find much that is valuable and interesting. There are some remarks in the free manner of the modern German school of theology, which for ourselves we neither defend nor approve."

At the close of the third part, the editor again dissents from many of the sentiments of Semler. He adds, however, that "the life of Semler is particularly

valuable, as giving a general view of the present state of theological knowledge, of what had occupied, and what is occupying, the attention of divines. It is a sort of chart of what has been lately better explored, or newly discovered, in the study of theology. It gives a review of the improvements that have been made in objects of attention and modes of inquiry, and furnishes us with some statements of the successful results of the investigations which followed. Of these improvements, Semler, as it respects Germany at least, seems to have been in a great degree the author and patron.

"Few theological students, we suppose, can fully estimate their obligations to the gentleman to whom we are indebted for the translation of this biography. Of Eichhorn's Introduction to the Old Testament, Professor Marsh observes, that it 'has never been translated, and from the difficulties, both of language and the subjects, cannot be understood by many English readers.'

"The life of Semler, as we have said, is probably by the same author, and some of its subjects must be equally difficult to make intelligible to the English reader."

Thinking that the translation of this work would not interest many of the readers of the Repository, I added a light article containing a few remarks on Drayton, a contemporary of Shakespeare, and an account of his poem entitled "Nymphida, the Court of Fairy," which article is here extracted.

"Our old English poets, with the exception of Shakespeare, are not in high favor among the great mass of readers, in this or our parent country. Few, except poets themselves, now read the Faery Queene of Spenser; Ben Jonson is little known; and Drayton, that vo-

luminous poet, and historian in verse, is still less known. It is not to be supposed that those who read for amusement will travel through the long topographical and historical and legendary writings of this great antiquarian and inexhaustible versifier; but there is at least one poem among his works which is not to be placed in the catalogue of wearisome didactic compositions. *Nymphida, the Court of Fairy*, is the poem in which Drayton displayed the greatest efforts of his imagination and sportiveness of his fancy. In this, as in his other poems, he is free from that admixture of antiquated diction, that affectation of idioms foreign to our language, and that disgusting pedantry, which were the vices of his age, and particularly disfigured the pages of Jonson.

"The ideal personages and agents in *The Court of Fairy* are not of the poet's own invention. Drayton has them in common with Shakespeare, and they are to be found long before either, in ancient traditions and romances, with no small variety of powers and properties, and distinguished by a multifarious diversity of fantastical actions and offices, both good and evil. It is needless to dwell upon the use that Shakespeare has made of these imaginary beings; and I shall instance only by a general reference to the *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

"Drayton's design is to describe the court of *Oberon*, king of the Fairies. After the introduction and invocation, he gives an account of the *palace in the air*.

"'The walls of spider's legs are made,
Well mortised and finely laid,
He was the master of his trade,
It curiously that builded:
The windows of the eyes of cats,
And for the roof, instead of slats,
Is covered with the skins of bats,
With moonshine that are gilded.'

"Hence issue from time to time Oberon and Queen Mab, and the whole elfin tribe, and inflict on mankind various ills and ludicrous mischiefs, which are next pleasantly enumerated, together with the credulity and superstition of the supposed subjects of these provoking injuries.

"We now come to the great action of the poem. Oberon grows jealous of Queen Mab, who seems to regard the *Fairy Knight*, Pigwiggen, with too much favor. The knight, conscious of his power, sends to the Queen a 'bracelet made of emmets' eyes,' indites a most loving epistle, which he sends by the Fairy page, *Tom Thumb*, and appoints a place of meeting. The Queen bids her maids to be ready, and orders her carriage.

"'Four nimble gnats the horses were,
Their harnesses of gossamere,
Fly Cranion, her charioteer,
Upon the coach-box getting.

"'Her chariot of a snail's fine shell,
Which for the colors did excel;
The fair Queen Mab becoming well,
So lively was the limning:
The seat the soft wool of the bee,
The cover (gallantly to see)
The wing of a py'd butterflee,
I trow 't was simple trimming.

" 'The wheels composed of crickets' bones,
And daintily made for the nonce,
For fear of rattling on the stones,
With thistle-down they shod it:
For all her maidens much did fear,
If Oberon had chanced to hear
That Mab his queen should have been there,
He would not have abode it.' *

"The queen mounts her chariot with haste, and her train of female attendants follow her upon a grasshopper, protected from the wind by a cobweb mantle. Here the poet leaves Queen Mab, and returns to Oberon, who, as well he may be, is not only exceedingly wroth, but *as mad as any hare.* With an appropriate

* "Shakespeare's description of the equipage of Queen Mab is more minute. One appears to have imitated the other, though evidently with great care not to coincide in the particulars.

"She comes,
In shape no bigger than an agate-stone
On the forefinger of an alderman,
Drawn with a team of little atomies
Athwart men's noses as they lie asleep:
Her wagon-spokes made of long spinners' legs;
The cover, of the wings of grasshoppers;
The traces, of the smallest spider's web;
The collars, of the moonshine's watery beams;
Her whip, of cricket's bone; the lash, of film:
Her wagoner, a small gray-coated gnat,
Not half so big as a round little worm
Pricked from the lazy finger of a maid:
Her chariot is an empty hazel-nut,
Made by the joiner squirrel, or old grub,
Time out of mind the fairies' coach-makers."

Shakespeare.

weapon he sallies forth, mistaking every object he meets. His first adventure is with a wasp, that he took for the knight Pigwiggen; next with a glow-worm, which 'he took to be a devil';—

"'And furiously doth her assail,
For carrying fire in her tail.

"'From thence he ran into a hive,
Among the bees he letteth drive,
And down their combs begins to rive,
All likely to have spoiled:
Which with their wax his face besmeared,
And with their honey daubed his beard,
It would have made a man affeared,
To see how he was moiled.'

"Next he meets and bestrides an ant, which winces and stumbles, and so sadly *beslurs* the poor king's head and face, that he is almost blind, and mistakes a mole-hill for a mountain. He imprudently scrambles up, and, his energies pressing him too far, he is precipitated to a lake below;—

"'Which him up to the neck doth take,
His fury it doth somewhat slake;
He calleth for a ferry:
When you may some recovery note,
What was his club he made his boat,
And in his oaken club doth float,
As safe as in a wherry.'

"On the shore he meets Puck, vulgarly called Hobgoblin, who, though in the main very mischievous, appears here to be altogether loyal, but exceedingly shocked.

"'Hoh, hoh! quoth Hob, God save thy grace!
Who dressed thee in this piteous case?
He thus that spoiled my sovereign's face,
I would his neck were broken.'

"The king tells his distress, and Puck promises to recover the queen. Nymphidia overbears, and hies her to Queen Mab; and by informing the queen that she is pursued, throws her and her attendants into the utmost consternation. After various contrivances for their personal safety; —

"'At length one chanced to find a nut,
In the end of which a hole was cut,
Which lay upon a hazel-root,
There scattered by a squirrel,
Which out the kernel gotten had:
When quoth this Fay, Dear queen, be glad,
Let Oberon be ne'er so mad,
I'll set you safe from peril.'

"Here they are all safely lodged *as in a castle*. But Nymphidia, thinking that Puck would be an overmatch for the queen, if he should discover her, sets about preparing a charm to defeat his purpose. She mixes the ingredients, and repeats her spell. When he advances within the magic circle, he perceives the working of the charms:

"'A pain he in his head-piece feels,
Against a stubbed tree he reels,
And up went poor Hobgoblin's heels;
Alas! his brain was dizzy.'

"He continues powerless, except to yell and roar; Queen Mab is waked by the noise, who was under alarming apprehensions, —

"'Until Nymphidia told the queen
What she had done, what she had seen,
Who then had well near cracked her spleen
With very extreme laughter.'

"At this interesting juncture there is a transition to Oberon and Pigwiggen, who are mutually seeking each other for combat. The description of the knight's steed and armor is consistent with that of the equipage of Queen Mab, and shows the same kind of power in the poet. This knight meets Tomalin, an old, valiant fairy, by whom he sends his defiance to King Oberon, and even threatens the crown. Tomalin in great wroth carries the message to the court, and Oberon prepares to meet his adversary. Queen Mab is greatly alarmed at the news, especially as she is known to be the occasion of the combat; —

"'Wherefore, attended with her maids,
Through fogs, and mists, and damps she wades
To Proserpine, the queen of shades,
To treat, that it would please her
The cause into her hands to take,
For ancient love and friendship's sake,
And soon thereof an end to make,
Which of much care would ease her.'

"The king and the knight, attended by their seconds, Tomalin and Tom Thumb, actually engage, equipped exactly alike, —

"'So that a man would almost swear
That either had been either.'

"As usual in such contests, horse and man are prostrated; and here this catastrophe happens alike to both

parties. The combat is long continued without any advantage on either side. In the mean time, Proserpine takes the fogs from the Styx, and a bottle of Lethe water, and hurries to the scene of action. She arrives at the moment when both are in imminent danger, determined to put an end to the combat, and to obliterate the recollection of the cause which brought them together. She confounds them by suffering the infernal fogs to escape, and demands an account of the quarrel. In the mean time she requires them, with no small degree of address, to drink the liquor that she presents; —

"'Which shall your understandings clear,
As plainly shall to you appear,
Those things from me that you shall hear
Conceiving much the quicker.'

"No sooner had they taken the draught, than

"'King Oberon forgotten had,
That he for jealousy ran mad;
But of his queen was wondrous glad,
And asked how they came thither.
Pigwiggen likewise doth forget
That he Queen Mab had ever met,
Or that they were so hard beset,
When they were found together.'

"The same oblivion happens to their valiant seconds; and the poet conducts the queen and her attendants, with the king, all pleasant and smiling, to the court of Fairy, and there leaves them feasting.

"The story, it will be perceived, is well conducted. It excites an interest from its novelty; — from the agency of ideal personages in scenes that are familiar to

us; from the consistency of their characters and operations; and from the adaptation of means to ends."

Another article communicated by me was "Sketches of the History of Ancient Poetry." From this article I select a portion relating to Oriental Poetry.

"The existence of the art of poetry may, in some sense, be nearly coeval with man. It supposes no extraordinary advancement in learning and refinement; for it is the legitimate offspring of the imagination, whether she be brought into strict subjection to the understanding, or be altogether free and unrestrained. The earliest record, however, concerning anything of a truly poetical cast is in the Book of Exodus. We there find that exquisite lyric strain uttered by Moses, and echoed by Miriam and her coadjutors, with accompanying instruments, commemorative of the goodness and the power of Jehovah, in conducting the people of Israel through the Red Sea, rescuing them from their enemies, and overwhelming their pursuers in those very waters which were miraculously divided for the passage of the Israelites. In one of the historical books of the Hebrew Scriptures we meet with a very touching elegy of David, after the intelligence of the death of Saul and Jonathan. The Lamentations of Jeremiah afford many striking passages of the same elegiac tenderness; and after mourning over the miseries of Jerusalem, we are not a little excited by that transition to his own calamities, described with much feeling, and with unequivocal marks of grief and anguish. David excels all the Hebrew poets extant in the number and variety and devotional character of his poems. The Psalms are a collection of lyric pieces,

which appear to be the offspring of genuine piety, and have all that diversity which might be expected to result from different occasions and circumstances. But many of the titles afford us no light concerning those occasions and circumstances.

"In some of the prophetic books, especially in Isaiah, there are the most wonderful specimens of sublimity which language is capable of conveying to the imagination. Though the descriptions of Jehovah in his attributes and providence are accommodated to our conceptions, through the instrumentality of sensible objects and images, yet in general they are calculated to give us more lively and exalted impressions than we should derive from mere abstract notions of his infinite perfections.

"The Book of Job should not be passed over unmentioned. Whether the author preceded David, or was contemporaneous, or lived after him, are questions upon which the critics on the Old Testament, in settling the chronological order of authors and events, are divided. But it is agreed, that the book under that name is of high antiquity. It affords a most interesting example of constancy under suffering, and a mind triumphing, by the aid of conscious virtue and vigorous faith, over a succession of adverse events, and the perplexing conduct of real or pretended friends. Considered as a poetical book, it is magnificent and diversified, much adorned, and deeply affecting. It has something, too, of dramatic effect. The colloquial parts sustained by the four persons brought on the stage are animated and appropriate, and the characters are distinct and well defined.

"In all these writings, as well as in those of the minor prophets, are interspersed many allusions to pastoral life, drawn from the personal occupations and the relative connections of the authors. David was called from feeding his father's flocks to receive the royal unction from the hand of Samuel; and this ceremony performed, he again returned to his ordinary occupation. To understand and perceive the beauty of the pastoral scenery of these writings, one should have some knowledge of the climate and productions and nature of the country, which furnish its favorite objects. But to pursue the subject in these particulars, and to give a selection of passages as specimens of the poetical genius of the Hebrew writers, would require an essay by itself. If the point of discrimination be sought between the poetical and the other books or passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, it will be ascertained, partly by the diction and partly by the structure of sentences or members of sentences. The parts that are properly called poetry, as those that have been already noticed, abound in lively comparisons, local allusions, and strong metaphors and allegories. They are also distinguished by a peculiar rhythm, and a sort of stanza, consisting generally of two, but sometimes of more, principal divisions, or versicles of nearly equal length. These stanzas appear frequently in the form of a declaration and a response, or a sentiment uttered and an amplification subjoined; and it is supposed that in the performance of the lyric parts by musical choirs an alternation was observed: and when one band began, for example, *The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice*, the chorus took up the corresponding line, *Let the multitudes of the isles*

be glad thereof. Sometimes these stanzas consist of an affirmative member, and a negative member so constituted as to support the affirmative, and the reverse. In the following instance, the affirmative precedes: *I have hated the congregation of the evil; I will* NOT *dwell with the wicked.* Again, the negative takes the lead: *I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart; I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation.*

"The attempt has often been made, and successfully made in the opinion of many critics, to reduce the poetry of the Hebrews to a regular measure, and to apply the rules of prosody to its construction. Some writers have, in consequence of their theory on this subject, proposed emendations and various readings, which have beside this no support, except in their own conjectures, and have thus allowed great latitude to the art of criticism, giving to its laws and canons a new direction, and applying them in conformity to a vague and doubtful theory; with a powerful auxiliary indeed in their own imaginations, and in their speculations concerning what is probable. Criticism of this kind, in a language extremely limited in its vocabulary and forms of expression, must be very unsatisfactory.

"The modern Hebrews have attempted poetry conforming to certain rules of versification, and in rhyme; but whatever of excellence is to be found in their writings may be traced to their Scriptures, and as for the rest, it probably belongs to the great mass of Rabbinical absurdities.

"Asia seems always to have been a favorite region of poetry. The Arabs are such lovers of this art, and so persuaded of its enchanting power and efficacy, that

they give it the name of *lawful magic.* They consider the fine sentiments expressed in prose as pearls and precious stones strewed at hazard, and of little worth; but when they are connected together in verse, as ornaments fit for the diadem of kings. The same elegant allusion, observes Sir William Jones, is preserved by the Persians; and among them, *to thread the pearls* is a common expression for the composing of verses. This great Oriental scholar, it is well known, has discovered many ancient writings in the classic language of this portion of Asia, which are monuments of poetic genius.

"The fruitful imagination and fervid genius of the Eastern poets is to be ascribed in part to the climate, and to the beauty and fertility of that section of the globe which they inhabit. Accordingly, their compositions in poetry are full of comparisons drawn from the natural objects that they behold around them. As in the sacred books, the verdure of Mount Carmel, the height of Lebanon, the vines of Engedi, the dew of Hermon, the rose of Sharon, and many other objects afford, from their individuality, comparisons of wonderful elegance and vivacity; so the spices and perfumes, the birds and flowers, associated with, because they are peculiar to, certain delightful spots, embellish the poems, and vary the images, of the Arabian and Persian bards. It was observed by one of the Peripatetic school,* concerning the verses of Sappho, that they were indebted for their sweetness and delicacy to the choice of images which they exhibit, all taken from what is most lovely in nature. They are filled with descriptions of gardens,

* Demetrius Phalereus.

of fountains and meadows, of flowers and fruits, of turtle-doves and nightingales, to say nothing of banquets, and loves, and graces. The same remarks in substance are now embodied in every description of the art of poetry; and one of the first rules is, Draw from nature, that your work may not be the mere likeness of a likeness.

"Nothing is better confirmed than the favorable situation of those Asiatics who dwell beyond the tropic of Cancer, and not extending to a high northern latitude, for observing nature under all the forms of beauty and sublimity. Such is the situation of Persia, of a large part of Arabia, and of Indostan. If we may trust Sir William Jones with the same confidence in regard to taste and judgment, as we can in respect to learning and entire freedom from the despicable impostures of an empirical *dilettante*, the Oriental poets surpass in beauty of diction and force of images all the authors of Europe, except the lyric poets among the Greeks, Horace among the Latins, and Merino among the Italians. No one, however, is infallible in matters of taste; but this is an opinion which, from the source whence it comes, is entitled to no inconsiderable respect. Yet still, as the case must be determined by an acquaintance with the originals in the several languages of the poems that come into comparison, few in the world have knowledge or opportunity sufficient to examine the correctness of Sir William's opinion. The same author remarks, that, as to images of terror, and everything which produces the sublime, no instances more striking can be found than in the poets that inhabit the deserts and mountains of Arabia; since they are surrounded with dark forests, horrible precipices, steep rocks, and frightful caverns.

"Among the Arabians, verse and even rhyme appear to be of high antiquity. But in their verses rhyme is not so great a restraint as in the modern European languages; the language of the Asiatics being very abundant in words of similar termination. It is as well to this great facility of versification, as to the early maturity to which the climate perhaps in some measure conduces, that Sir William Jones ascribes the wonderful attainments of many young poets in their favorite art; attainments unexampled in any other part of the world. This precocity, it seems, is cherished with great zeal and high expectations; and the least spark of genius that becomes visible is not suffered to expire.

"After lavishing his praises upon the Asiatics, the learned Jones assures us, that he means to deduct nothing from the merits of the ancient classic poets; and is willing to consider the Greek poets as the standard by which the excellence of the Asiatic is to be determined; and that whatever is to be praised in the last consists in a resemblance to the first. But, he subjoins, 'it is natural to write with warmth and vivacity upon a branch of literature in which we have had the first honor of making any considerable advances.' Some deductions, no doubt, are to be made for the charms of novelty accompanying the works of imagination of a people, whose language and customs and modes of thinking distinguish them so entirely from a European, before initiated only into the common, though higher, gradations of academical learning. There may be here and there one so proud of the literature and genius, the oratory or poetry, of his own country, as to exclaim, *Cedite Græci et Romani;* but, in general, what we have

bestowed great pains to acquire, we are disposed, in a degree nearly corresponding to the cost, to value and to praise; and after being wearied with the recurrence of phraseology, and metaphors, and allusions, and personifications in English poetry, which have existed time out of mind, we can hardly trust our judgments, amidst the first transports of novelty felt on entering a new region of fancy and of fiction, with the decision on the comparative excellence of what has wearied us from dwelling upon it too long, and of that which may happen to please us from the mere suddenness of the transition."

Two years is a short period of life even for a literary journal. But the Repository performed a good work, and had its friends. It had its influence in preserving a literary spirit among young scholars, now giving signs of the determination not to hide their knowledge within their own breasts, but to do something publicly for their own reputation. When the Monthly Anthology expired, Mr. Tudor, who was active and earnest in all that he undertook, fixed his mind with steady purpose on the undertaking of a similar periodical work. But deferring it for the present, and desirous of foreign travel, for which an opportunity was afforded him, I believe, in connection with some mercantile agency, it was probably supposed that he had abandoned his design. During his absence, however, an association of several gentlemen had been formed for a similar undertaking. I was not personally knowing to the circumstances in detail; but in the Boston Daily Advertiser of March 2d, 1853, I find an article selected from a monthly publication entitled "Biography of Distinguished Americans," connected with a biographical account of Mr. Willard Phillips, which I presume gives a true account of the early history of the North American Review. It is entitled, "Beginning of the North American Review."

"During December, 1814, and January, 1815, while Mr. Phillips was still one of the instructors in Harvard University, an association was formed, consisting of President Kirkland, Edward T. Channing, since Professor in Harvard College, Mr. Phillips, and others, for starting a literary periodical, under the title of 'The New England Magazine and Review,' Mr. Phillips being the proposed editor. Articles of association were adopted, and sundry meetings were held, the records of which, kept by Mr. Channing, as secretary, he has preserved. In a letter written by Mr. Channing, January 5, 1815, he says to his correspondent: 'How you would have laughed could you have peeped into my snug office for two or three days past and seen the great men, learned doctors of law and divinity, tutors at college, editors, and publishers, holding solemn debate on the Magazine, one writing a prospectus, another talking about style, a third counting the cost and chance of success, and, lastly, your correspondent himself listening to all that was said, and recording it as secretary of the meeting.'

"When the preparation had been made for announcing the publication, the associates learned that a similar one was proposed by Mr. William Tudor, then just returned from his travels in Europe, and since well known as author of the Life of James Otis, and other literary productions, and also as American consul at

Rio Janeiro, a gentleman in high estimation for his manners, accomplishments, literary talents, and acquirements. He was a personal friend of some of the associates. The field was thereupon left open to him.

"The first number of the bi-monthly North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal accordingly came out under Mr. Tudor's editorship in May, 1815, and was continued during a year, at the end of which period he put it at the disposal of Mr. Phillips, Mr. Tudor voluntarily proposing and choosing to continue editor for one year longer without salary.

"In the mean time, Mr. Phillips had commenced the practice of law, as junior in the office of the Hon. Benjamin Gorham, at that time of high forensic reputation, and subsequently a distinguished member of Congress. The Review, at the time of the pecuniary responsibility being assumed by Mr. Phillips, needed the utmost economy, as well as all the activity, talent, and learning that could be brought to its aid, to bear it up; and Mr. Phillips, seeing that the usual publishers' commission weighed heavily upon its resources, had the copies of the number for May, 1816, sent from the printers to his office, and a part of them were there inclosed and despatched to subscribers. Messrs. Wells and Lilly, then the leading publishing firm in Boston, who had published the work the preceding year, very soon, and before all the copies of that number had been distributed, liberally offered to publish it during the year free of commissions, which helped materially to carry it through that year.

"On Mr. Tudor's retiring from the editorship, in 1817, an association of contributors was formed, consisting of

some of the old associates and some new ones; namely, John Gallison, known as the reporter of the early decisions of Judge Story, a lawyer of early eminence, who died young, much respected, beloved, and regretted; Nathan Hale, editor of the Boston Daily Advertiser; Richard H. Dana, since well known in the literary world; Edward T. Channing; Mr. Phillips; William Powell Mason, successor of Mr. Gallison as reporter of the decisions of Judge Story; and Jared Sparks, then Tutor in Harvard, whose name is since familiar to the public as an author, and as President of Harvard College. Mr. Sparks was editor, during that year, of the fifth and sixth volumes.

"The associates held weekly meetings for reading and deciding upon communications, and selecting and distributing subjects to be written upon. These, though in some sort business meetings, were kept up with much interest, vivacity, and harmony, at which the literary friends of the associates not unfrequently attended, and the zeal and spirit of the association were by degrees infused into the Review, and the effect was manifested in reaction by subscriptions and communications. At the end of that year, in May, 1818, Mr. Channing succeeded to Mr. Sparks as editor, at the commencement of the seventh volume, and edited the seventh, eighth, and ninth volumes, until his appointment, in October, 1819, as Boylston Professor in Cambridge University. With the eighth volume, the Review began to be published quarterly, instead of once in two months as before. Mr. Edward Everett succeeded to Mr. Channing as editor. The proprietorship of the Review was in the same association from

May, 1818, until it was transferred to Mr. Sparks, in 1823, when he resumed the editorship.

"Mr. Phillips was a frequent contributor for some years, and an occasional one subsequently until about 1836. One of his early articles was upon Professor Hedge's Logic, then just published, and one of his later, on Lord Brougham's ethical volumes, upon which Dr. Henry Ware, Jr., then Professor in the Cambridge Theological School, expressed himself in quite commendatory terms in a note to the writer. The logic article, though favorable to Professor Hedge's book, was not entirely satisfactory to him, because it did not treat the subject with sufficient gravity. Most of Mr. Phillips's articles were upon works of imagination and taste, the reviewing of which did not require any special preparation, and accordingly did not interfere with his professional and other business pursuits."

Mr. Tudor returned in the year 1814; and Mr. Phillips and his associates, finding that he considered himself as having forestalled the doubtful boon of conducting the work, yielded to his claims without controversy. Mr. Tudor edited the work two years. Then, from May, 1817, to March, 1818, inclusive, it was edited by Jared Sparks; from May, 1818, to October, 1819, inclusive, by Edward T. Channing; from January, 1820, to October, 1823, inclusive, by Edward Everett; from January, 1824, to April, 1830, inclusive, by Jared Sparks; from July, 1830, to October, 1835, by Alexander H. Everett; from January, 1836, to January, 1843, by John G. Palfrey; from 1843 to 1853, by Francis Bowen; and since this last-named year, by Andrew P. Peabody.

Thus the North American Review has existed forty years, conducted by eight successive editors, Mr. Sparks having served for one year in the early period of its existence, and again six years afterward, beginning with the year 1824, and continuing more than six years. The work began in poverty. The editors, in gathering their literary stores, in addition to what they laid up themselves, were obliged to depend on charity, bestowed from personal friendship, or from loyalty and good-will to the republic of letters, stimulated perhaps in some cases by ambition to acquire an honorable name among conspicuous and honored men, whose good opinion was worth the pains bestowed on their efforts to deserve it. Be this as it may, the work grew gradually in favor. Healthy and substantial, also, has been its growth, not without short intervals, perhaps, when its vigor may have seemed to be impaired, but for the most part constant. At this day it shows no marks of decline,—nothing that indicates premature old age and decay.

In conversation with Professor Channing about the work, recently, I inquired of him, doubtingly, whether I wrote anything for the Review during the time that he was the editor. He immediately replied, that the review of the Life and Writings of Dwight, President of Yale College, was written by me. His answer took me by surprise, and I cannot now remember a single circumstance pertaining either to his request that I would perform the work, or to my act of performance. For each of the editors, excepting Alexander H. Everett, I wrote one or more reviews.

For Mr. Tudor, the first editor, I wrote a review of Mr. John Pickering's "Vocabulary or Collection of

Words and Phrases which have been supposed to be peculiar to the United States of America; to which is prefixed an Essay on the Present State of the English Language in the United States."

The words in this Vocabulary are numerous, and some critics were startled in consequence of interpreting with too much severity Mr. Pickering's remarks in his Essay prefixed to the Vocabulary, and feared that their tendency was unreasonably to impoverish the English language. Speaking of the discipline to which it is necessary to submit in order to acquire and preserve a pure English style, he says:—"It is related of Charles James Fox, that, when speaking of his intended History, he said he would admit no word into his book for which he had not the authority of Dryden.* This determination may seem at first view to have been dictated by too fastidious a taste, or an undue partiality for a favorite author; but unquestionably a rule of this sort, adopted in the course of our education, and extended to a few of the best authors, would be the most effectual method of acquiring a good English style." The rule, however, is very narrow, when confined to one or a few of the best writers, with reference to the choice of words, and though very safe, it amounts to little more than this, namely, that the habit of reading the works of the best English scholars, written in the purest style with respect to the choice and collocation of words, and with due regard to the established idioms of the language, and with the requisite knowledge of grammar,

* Preface to his History of James the Second.

is the best preparation for writing with propriety. It is not so much a study, a searching after a vocabulary, as a habit, a natural acquirement from companionship with books, like that which we acquire in oral conversation with our associates. From these, if they speak with propriety, avoiding all vulgarisms, careless speakers will be apt to take warning. On the contrary, I have known well-educated persons, whose business has led them to converse freely and frequently with men uneducated in letters, but clever in their vocations, unconsciously to adopt vulgarisms and grammatical improprieties, which make careful and exact speakers stare with amazement.

Mr. Pickering's book was printed in the year 1816. In the English reviews and magazines before that time we had been charged, in exaggerated terms, as corrupters of the English language, and disloyal to our mother tongue, as we had before been to our mother country, and approaching in an alarming degree to the creation of an American language. Although the proofs alleged in support of so serious a charge were few, and of these some were feeble or far-fetched, they were, nevertheless, entitled to the attention of American scholars, since we were enjoying to some extent a community of letters with English writers, and a dependence upon them, in a great measure, for literary works. This seems to have been the view taken by the author of the Vocabulary. He was fully aware of the illiberality and bad spirit with which the charges were made; and he knew also that it was wise to take precautions even from the sayings of an enemy. I thought then, and I think now, that it was a seasonable

publication; although now both the independence of feeling and the intercommunity of letters are so established, that the whole range of literature and science may be traversed on terms of equality, with a generous and noble rivalry on the part of each to excel the other.

There was a prejudice among some persons against the work of Mr. Pickering, arising from the apprehension that he proscribed all words of American origin. Naturally, if this had been his purpose, it would have given very general offence. Our national pride would revolt against such an arbitrary decree, coming from any quarter. He did not deny the right of making words, or applying words in a new or additional sense, when necessity, or even great convenience, required it; but aimed only to exclude such as are useless or barbarous. It was one of the principal objects of his work to ascertain and point out what words and idioms in use among us were peculiar to the United States, that it might be seen whether they were necessary or useful, or demanded by convenience for the sake of brevity or expressiveness. *Locate*, for example, is not in Johnson's Dictionary, nor in the older English dictionaries, though they have the derivative word *location;* but it is a convenient word. *Locare*, in Latin, signifies *to place;* as, *locare domum;* but to locate a farm, *locare fundum*, which is also a Latin usage of the word, seems to imply the fixing upon a place with its boundaries, and the corresponding English word is not ill applied by giving it the more comprehensive meaning in which the word is used with regard to the survey and laying out of lands. Words originating under similar circumstances, or adapted to these circumstances by some deviation from their radical meaning, or by their extension of meaning, are not to be condemned as corruptions of language, though they may have this tendency. Thus *locate*, unnecessarily, and with bad taste, has been applied to persons, to preachers, missionaries, and business agents.

It is with an ill grace that British writers, at the present day, charge American writers with the crime of corrupting the English language; for within the last twenty or thirty years, their Parliamentary orators and reviewers, and writers in magazines and popular essayists, have rendered themselves liable to the charge of corruption in this matter in a fourfold degree beyond their brethren in the United States; and this both by the introduction of unauthorized words, and by their departure from the natural simplicity of English style,—a style in many anonymous writers, and in some who are not, which, it seems to me, may be classed under a new name, the vagrant style, not described, I believe, under this name by any rhetorician. A writer of this class frequently begins a sentence blindfold, proceeds with an uncertain movement, halts, takes the bandage from his eyes, goes onward, sees a flower on his right-hand side beautiful and fragrant, which he plucks for an ornament, and a sparkling gem on his left, which he seizes to enrich his treasury; so that he who has followed him in his devious course, with careful eye, from the beginning, is still "in wandering mazes lost," and compelled to begin again, and with much study to connect the devious by-paths with the beginning and end of the course, so as to gain some comprehension of its successive steps.

The North American Review, in its commencement, was partly a magazine; so that the whole title of the work was, "The North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal." But after a few volumes were published, it contained simply reviews and notices of books, and the title was abridged accordingly. It was also at first published in numbers once in two months, but soon became a quarterly journal. The succession of editors I have already given. The writers have been many, including men conspicuous in the learned profession, scholars enjoying literary leisure, politicians and statesmen, and citizens of the world who prefer reading, study, and thinking to reverie, vacancy, and thoughtlessness. My services in the work were mostly of the philological part, including reviews of Richardson's large English Dictionary, Worcester's Universal and Critical Dictionary of the English Language, &c. There was a review of mine in a number of the work when it was edited by Edward Everett relating to the New Jerusalem Church, and founded in great part on a work entitled, "The Heavenly Doctrine of the New Jerusalem, as revealed from Heaven. From the Latin of Emanuel Swedenborg. Second American edition." The review is very general in regard to the doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church, or Swedenborgianism, as might be expected from the selection of the work above named for its title, and doubtless a believer in the doctrine would treat it in a manner very differently from that of the reviewer. And although, as I might have expected, the receivers of the doctrine did not think that I had done justice to Baron Swedenborg and his writings, they did not accuse me of any false

allegations or exaggerated statements. They could not; for I went as near as I could to the fountain-head, namely, to the translator of the work named at the head of the review. The following remarks near the close of the review disclose the true feeling on the subject that governed me.

"If, in the course of our remarks, there be any seeming want of courtesy towards the members of the New Jerusalem Church, or any disregard to their feelings, we can truly affirm that nothing of this kind was intended. We are happy in this place to declare that we have known those of the communion, (those who are now beyond the reach of our praise or blame, but who, if living, we should be most loath to wound,) in whom, we believe, resided spirits as pure, as amiable, and as exalted as humanity admits. And we still know many of the same communion who merit similar praise. Our prepossessions, therefore, in a great portion of individual examples, have been in favor of the benign influence of this new doctrine, though we have never deemed these examples to be sufficiently numerous to establish a general conclusion."

For many years, the North American lived more on hope for the future than upon present reward for the benefits it conferred on the public. Its literary supplies were the gifts of charity; for they who bestowed them received no pecuniary compensation for the time and labor they cost, either from the editors or publishers. Thus it continued to be, until the year 1824, when Mr. Sparks resumed the editorial chair, in which he had before been seated for a year, beginning with May, 1817. During his second term in the editorial office, of six

years' duration, he paid his contributors to the work one dollar a page, and this has continued to be the practice to the present time. There is now no faltering in the work, no symptom of decline. Long may it live, an honor and benefaction to the country, and yield to its conductor a harvest adequate to his toils.

The Christian Disciple is the name that was given to a periodical work which was commenced in the year 1813. It was established under the auspices of Rev. William E. Channing and others. The object of its projectors was to publish an *Evangelical* work in the true sense of the term, and not as claimed by a sect; and no otherwise controversial than it might be made so by the assaults of those who claimed for themselves the possession of the whole Gospel truth. They who devised this practical work had but one person in view for its editor; namely, the Rev. Noah Worcester, who had formed his religious opinions from a thorough study of the New Testament, had given evidence in his writings of a strong mind, of just thinking, of practical skill and logical discrimination, of great gentleness towards those who hold their faith in supposed Christian doctrines with an array of language harsh and revolting, but in everything of his own conception was governed by a truly Christian spirit. He began the undertaking assured by the encouragement and counsel and aid of those who selected him for the purpose of carrying their views and his own into practical effect; and this he did with great success. For six years, comprising the same number of volumes, he conducted the work in monthly numbers, and then surrendered it into the hands of one possessing a kindred spirit,—surrendered it not because

he was weary of labor, but because his time was filled with other philanthropic undertakings. In the year 1818, the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr. became the editor of the work, publishing a number once in two months, giving it essentially the same character that it had before sustained, and retaining its former friends and contributors. As an evidence of this, it may be added, that he edited the work for five years, comprising that number of volumes. In the year 1824, it came into the hands of the Rev. John Gorham Palfrey. He changed the title to "The Christian Examiner." Though it became more learned and less popular and practical in its character than it had before been, it retained its former friends and made new ones. Less exclusively a religious journal, it attracted a class of readers who craved more variety. It prospered in his hands during the three years he held it, to the pecuniary benefit of its proprietors and publishers more than to his own. Mr. Palfrey, at the close of his service, being about to leave Boston for a season, transferred the Examiner to Mr. Francis Jenks, who was the editor for six years, from 1826 to 1831, inclusive. During Henry Ware's editorship of the Christian Disciple, and that of J. G. Palfrey and Francis Jenks, I assisted occasionally, when called upon, to supply its pages. After that time, being engaged in other matters, partly more secular, I contented myself with enjoying the fruits of others' toil in this field of labor, without exerting myself to provide for it any fruits of my own culture, reserving these for a more selfish use. In 1831, the Christian Examiner was transferred to the Rev. James Walker and Rev. Francis William Pitt Greenwood. In their hands it

accumulated great literary wealth, which has not been diminished since it came into the custody of their successors. Dr. Walker edited the work about six years, Mr. Greenwood having been obliged by ill health to discontinue his labors through the whole of this period. Dr. Walker was succeeded by the Rev. William Ware, and the latter, after a few years, by the Rev. Messrs. Lamson and Gannett, a very appropriate union for the combination of Biblical criticism and religious unction. From these able and learned editors it passed into the hands of Messrs. Putnam and Ellis, the present editors, who continue to sustain the high character of the publication.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PERSONAL MEMORIES.

Presidency of the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland. — Condition of the College. — Changes in my Official Duties. — Divinity School. — Latin Department. — Termination of my Office as Hancock Professor. — My New Occupation.

In pursuing my personal memories after the time that I was admitted into the Anthology Society, which was at the beginning of the year 1807, in which Society I continued as a fellow-worker through the remaining period of its existence and literary labors, and thence going forward to the succession of other periodical publications with which I had some connection as a contributor, I have travelled to a distance remote from the scene of my primary daily labors, to which I now return.

It was about four months after the vacancy in the office of President of Harvard College, occasioned by the death of Rev. Dr. Samuel Webber, that a successor to him was installed in the office. It was important, in many respects, that there should be no unnecessary delay in filling it, and, among the candidates named for it, there was probably little hesitation on the part of the

Fellows of the Corporation in coming to a choice. Dr. John Thornton Kirkland had been, by virtue of his ministerial office, a member of the Board of Overseers for sixteen years, and had always taken a deep interest in the University. He was for two years, 1792–94, one of its Tutors; and, as a member of various social, literary, and charitable associations, he never disappointed expectation in any service which he willingly undertook. By all the members of the Corporation he was well known. They were not only men of learning, but men of influence in their various relations in society. Their names and deeds remain only in history,—honored names and deeds of worth. John Davis, Oliver Wendell, Theophilus Parsons, John Lowell, and Rev. John Lathrop were the Fellows of the Corporation when Dr. Kirkland was elected President, in the month of August, 1810. The Hon. Jonathan Jackson, the Treasurer, and consequently member of the Corporation, died in that year; but whether before or after the election of President, I am not able to say. The Hon. John Davis was chosen Treasurer in the same year, and was succeeded as a Fellow by the Hon. Christoper Gore.*

Dr. Kirkland was inaugurated on the 14th of November, 1810, with the traditionary ceremonies. It was a day of hearty congratulation, closed by an illumination of the College buildings in the evening, and a ball, which attracted great numbers, young and old, expressing its part of the applause due to the occasion and to the person on whose account it was given.

Much was justly expected under this new administration of affairs, from the reputation of its head, aided by his counsellors and assistants, the Fellows of the Corporation. President Kirkland came into office under circumstances most auspicious. There had not been time enough, while the office was vacant, to get up exciting discussions in favor of or in opposition to various candidates. One month of silence, after the decease of that worthy and faithful and learned man who held the office of President, even for the short time of little more than four years, was due to his memory and to the feelings of his family and nearest friends; but it was wise, also, in the Corporation, to avoid the evil of such delay as might cause public impatience, or offer a temptation to those who had favorite candidates to propose to urge their preferences, and divide public opinion, or divert it from a respectful waiting for the action of that body which alone had the power to act.

The accession of Dr. Kirkland to the Presidency of the University was regarded very generally, if not universally, by those who knew him best, as the beginning of a new era highly propitious to the institution. The only evil that threatened its peace was that which it was feared might proceed from the action of the government of Massachusetts. An act which was passed by the Legislature in March, 1810, with the consent of the

* In Rev. Joseph Willard's presidency of nearly twenty-three years, the whole number of Fellows who served in the Corporation during some part of that time was eleven; and one Treasurer during the whole period. In Dr. Kirkland's presidency, the whole number was seventeen, and his presidency less than eighteen years. I do not include Rev. Charles Lowell as one of the Fellows. Though elected, he declined from a feeling of delicacy, his elder brother being already a Fellow. Hon. John Davis was Treasurer from the beginning of Dr. Kirkland's presidency till near its close, in 1827.

Corporation and Overseers, altering the Constitution of the latter, and making it an elective board, with power to fill its own vacancies, and consisting of fifteen laymen and fifteen clergymen of Congregational churches, and reserving to the government of the State the right to be represented by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, met with a formidable opposition in the Senate, as a surrender of an important right. This want of unanimity rendered the permanency of the change very doubtful. Two years afterwards, the opponents of the statute were in the majority, and, without any notice being given to the Corporation and Overseers, or an opportunity afforded them for a hearing, the act of 1810 was unconditionally repealed, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Corporation when the bill was introduced into the Senate, and their request to be heard on the subject. The act of repeal required that the Board of Overseers thereafter should "be constituted in the same way and manner, and be composed of the same persons, and no other, that it would have been had the same act never been passed."

Another change, however, was effected in the year 1814, which led the parties to agree to an enactment which would reconcile their difficulties, and reserve to each party its supposed rights. "The Board of Overseers organized by the act of 1810, and the Board organized by the act of 1812, met in different chambers on the 3d of June, 1812. The Board organized under the act of the former year voted that they did not regard the act of repeal by the latter as obligatory, since it was passed without their consent, and was therefore an unlawful invasion of a visitatorial power; but not disposed to bring the matter, under present circumstances, to a judicial decision, they delivered the records and proceedings of the College, as specified in the act, to the new Board, reserving to themselves the right of contesting the validity of the act in such manner as they shall deem expedient. Thus the matter rested until the year 1814, when an act was passed 'to restore the act of 1810, and to make an addition thereto,' which addition was the restoration of the Senate to the Board; namely, 'the Senate shall, together with the persons mentioned in the last-mentioned act [1810], hereafter constitute the Board of Overseers of Harvard College.'"

The validity of the act was made to depend on its acceptance by the Corporation and Overseers of the College. This was a fortunate result, and a great point gained; establishing an important precedent, which has not been forgotten. This act was accepted by the College Board, and the Board of Overseers thus constituted as visitors of the University, and liberally represented by the government of the Commonwealth, remained without change until the year 1851, when a new law was enacted, superseding all the former laws, and went into effect in the year 1852, by which the Board is constituted as follows: —

"Sec. 2. The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth, the Secretary of the Board of Education, and the President and Treasurer of Harvard College for the time being, together with thirty other persons, as hereinafter defined and described, shall, on and after the day of the meeting of the next Gen-

eral Court, constitute the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, they, or the major part of them present at any legal meeting, to exercise and enjoy all the rights, powers, and privileges, and be subject to all the duties, of the existing Board of Overseers.

"Sec. 3. The thirty persons who, in addition to the *ex-officio* members thereof, now constitute the Board of Overseers, shall be divided into three classes, of ten each, by lot or otherwise, as they themselves may determine; and the persons of the first class shall go out of office on the day of the next annual meeting of the General Court [1852], and their places be supplied by joint ballot of the Senators and Representatives of the Commonwealth assembled in one room; and the persons of the second class, &c. [in 1853], and the persons of the third class, &c. [in 1854], provided that the persons of each of the said outgoing classes shall continue in office for two months after the day of the said annual meeting of the General Court, unless their successors shall have been sooner chosen by the Senators and Representatives."

So far as this section extends, the object of it has been once accomplished, and the Board has been wholly renewed; but the end is not yet. The fourth section provides, that, after being wholly renewed by one third vacating their seats at the beginning of the years 1852, 1853, and 1854, successively, and others chosen to fill the same in succession, the members shall be divided into six equal classes by subdivision of the previous classes (consisting each of ten members) into two each, and the said six classes shall go out of the Board in rotation, &c. (as before). Now, if we subdivide three

classes, consisting of ten each, into two each, and make them into six classes, the matter will stand thus: three classes of two each is six, and six classes of six each is thirty-six. There is no provision in the act, as I perceive, for preserving any proportion between the clerical and the lay members. Indeed, the distinction is nowhere recognized. The equality of the old law, or some approach to it, is, I think, desirable. The clergy in general take more interest in education, through all its gradations, than laymen; and though unreasonable concessions in their favor in filling honorable posts should not be indulged to them, and are not sought by them, yet a large share is due to their fitness for the station of visitors to our higher schools, academies, and colleges.

Transiently, in speaking of Dr. Kirkland's entrance upon the duties of the President, I mentioned, among the earliest acts of the Corporation, the appointing of Levi Frisbie, and others in the Tutor's office, College Professors. This titular honor was no doubt gratifying to the recipients, and the increase of salary was equally honorable, and conferred a greater benefit; just as it is, that, under certain circumstances, a pecuniary reward for highly meritorious services is more prized than a golden medal, equally costly to the giver. Mr. Frisbie enjoyed this distinction for seven years in the Latin department before he was elevated to the Alford Professorship, of which he was the first incumbent; and Mr. Ashur Ware, about five years, when he sought and found his honors in another line; and Mr. George Otis, more than a year, in 1826–27, when the days of expansion were passed and those of compression began. At the close of Mr. Ware's instruction in the Greek department, in the

year 1815, Rev. Dr. Popkin was induced, with no inconsiderable reluctance, to become a permanent College Professor in the Greek department, which place he retained for eleven years, when he succeeded Mr. Edward Everett as Eliot Professor of Greek Literature, which office he resigned in 1833. He used to complain of the multitude of his exercises. The classes, many of them, were very large, and he was obliged often to hear them in divisions, and in his teaching he was very minute. He complained often of the consumption of his time, and more than once I heard him exclaim, "This hearing of lessons all the time leaves me no leisure to read the authors."

During the early part of the presidency of Dr. Kirkland, my duties were not laborious. I retained the instruction in English grammar, with the text-book then in use, during Professor McKean's connection with the College, and took charge of his classes while he was absent from the country in 1818, and during his last illness until his death, and in the interval between that time and the installation of Professor Channing, in December, 1819.

To President Kirkland the University and the public are indebted for the first movement in the attempt to establish the Divinity School. In December of the year 1815, the Corporation addressed a circular letter to such of the graduates of the University as they thought would be most disposed to take an interest in the undertaking, and who possessed the means and the moral power and religious influence necessary to further the design, and to other gentlemen of like character and influence, soliciting their aid in the cause. The most authentic account of the origin of the society to which belongs the credit of founders of the Divinity School is given in the Appendix to Mr. Quincy's History of Harvard University, Vol. II. pp. 545, 546. "A complete list of the founders and benefactors of the Theological School," he says, "cannot at this day be obtained. The records are incomplete; many subscription-papers have been destroyed, those of 1815 by fire; but the best information research has been able to gain will be given."

He then speaks of the circular issued in December of the year 1815, mentioned above, and says: "The object proposed to the liberal and the pious" was, "to provide funds for assisting meritorious students in divinity, with limited means, to reside at the University for a requisite time; and, as the best method to attain this object, to form a society for the education of candidates for the ministry in the University at Cambridge, to be constituted as subscribers. Persons subscribing one hundred dollars, and clergymen subscribing two dollars, to be members for life; those subscribing five dollars a year, to continue members so long as they pay this annual sum."

"The following letter," says Mr. Quincy, "is the only document now to be found illustrative of the means and agents by which this subscription was effected. The three persons whose names are subscribed to it, by their talents, their virtues, and public spirit, are well entitled to be regarded as having a leading influence in effecting the subscription."

"Rev. John T. Kirkland, *President of Harvard University.*

"Sir, — The trust with which we are honored by the government of the University having been fully executed within the limits of the New South Society, we have now the pleasure of inclosing the original subscriptions, amounting in donations to four thousand two hundred and eighty-five dollars, and in annual contributions to seventy-seven dollars. Should this result be viewed with any degree of complacency, its favorable aspect is to be attributed in a good measure to the active services of Mr. John Howe and Mr. Isaac P. Davis, whose assistance has been rendered in a manner worthy the noble object they proposed to serve.

"We are, Sir, your very humble servants,

"George Cabot,
Israel Thorndike,
William Parsons,
} *Committee for procuring subscriptions.*

"*Boston, April* 10, 1816."

Further, Mr Quincy says: "The subscribers met at the Boston Athenæum, July 17, 1816, and chose the Rev. President Kirkland moderator of the meeting, and the Rev. Charles Lowell scribe; and the moderator, at the request of the assembly, having opened the meeting with prayer, 'A Society for the Promotion of Theological Education in Harvard University' was formed, and a Constitution and Rules for its government were adopted, of which the following article was a fundamental one: 'It being understood that every encouragement be given to the serious, impartial, and unbiased investigation of Christian truth, and that

no assent to the peculiarities of any denomination be required, either of the Students, or Professors or Instructors.'"

"The following list of the officers and subscribers * at that period is the best record now attainable of the founders of the Theological School."

President, Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D.D. *Vice-Presidents*, Samuel Parkman, Israel Thorndike, and Peter C. Brooks. *Recording Secretary*, Rev. Francis Parkman. *Corresponding Secretary*, Rev. Charles Lowell. *Treasurer*, Jonathan Phillips. *Vice-Treasurer*, James Savage. *Directors*, Rev. Dr. Porter, Joseph Story, Josiah Bartlett, Daniel A. White, Joseph Coolidge, James Perkins, Rev. Dr. Popkin, Charles Davis, John Howe. *Auditors*, Thomas Wigglesworth, Samuel May, Israel Munson. *Trustees*, Benjamin Pickman, William Prescott, James Lloyd, Josiah Quincy, Andrew Ritchie.

The whole number of life subscribers was one hundred and forty-two. There were ninety annual subscribers; and five-and-twenty donors are named, the amount of whose subscriptions or donations cannot be ascertained. And "the names of other subscribers to the fund raised in the year 1815 cannot be obtained; some of the Society's books and papers, then in possession of Mr. James Savage, the Vice-Treasurer, having been destroyed at the fire in Court Street, Boston, in 1825."

* The names of the life subscribers and annual subscribers are annexed to the historical account which I copy; but are here omitted.

There was a new formation, in the year 1826, of the "Society for the Promotion of Theological Education in Harvard University," in consequence of the confusion occasioned by the loss of papers at the fire before mentioned; and a new subscription was raised "for the purchase of land and the erection of a building for the use of the students in the Theological School at Cambridge." The names of the subscribers are given by Mr. Quincy, and the sums annexed. The amount of their subscriptions, together with about two hundred dollars contributed at two annual meetings, is nineteen thousand three hundred and twenty-seven dollars and twenty-three cents.

"The cost of Divinity Hall and the Matron's House, and the furniture for the Hall and the House, was	$36,988.65
"Of which amount, there was paid by the Treasurer of Harvard College, out of the Theological Trust Fund, ...	$19,600.00
"And by the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education in Harvard University, from funds subscribed for the purpose, as above stated, ...	$17,388.65
	$36,988.65

I have been thus particular in this account, because it shows at once the zeal with which measures were pursued to obtain these funds, and the readiness with which it was met by the liberal returns made by the subscribers.

Thinking that the history of this addition to the means of theological education in the University, so

appropriate to an institution dedicated to Christ and the Church, is very imperfectly known to very many of the sons and friends of the College, — some parts of which, indeed, although I had some personal interest in the matter, I had forgotten, or was not so well acquainted with before, — I have been induced to copy it from an authentic source, in order to give it a little further extension, or to revive the memory of an undertaking so highly honorable in its conception, conducted with disinterested zeal, and crowned with remarkable success.

Very soon after the inauguration of President Kirkland, attention was turned to the establishing of a Theological School in the University. The bequest to the University in the will of the Hon. Samuel Dexter of five thousand dollars, the object of which was the promotion of a "critical knowledge of the Holy Scriptures," was announced to the Corporation by Hon. Samuel Dexter, his son, about five months before Dr. Kirkland's accession to the Presidency. In May, 1811, trustees of the Dexter Fund were chosen, and in August of the same year Joseph Stevens Buckminster was chosen Dexter Lecturer on Biblical Criticism. In February, 1813, Samuel Parkman, a wealthy merchant of Boston, offered, and in the following year conveyed, a township of land in the District of Maine, supposed to be very valuable, "for the support of a Professor of Theology"; and, though nothing was realized from it at the time, the specific gift in this instance tended to show which way public opinion was beginning to point. Nothing further occurred on the subject until the circular letter, addressed to the sons and friends of the University, the result of which, as we have seen, was

the formation of the "Society for the Promotion of Theological Education," &c. There was, however, in the year 1819, a beginning of a Theological School; not instituted under that name, but to which two Professors in the University devoted a part of their time, giving instruction to theological students in their several departments. The exercises began to be held under the direction of the Hollis Professor of Divinity and the Hancock Professor of Hebrew, and by them the classes were arranged and instructed. Mr. Norton was chosen Dexter Professor in the same year; Rev. William Ellery Channing, who was chosen after Mr. Buckminster resigned, having also then resigned. Professor Frisbie, also, Alford Professor, lectured on Moral Philosophy for a year or two, until his long illness preceding his death, which occurred in the year 1822. The School, therefore, was carried on wholly by Academical Professors until Professor Norton, who had given lectures on the Dexter foundation for several years, was elected Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature. In a few years, however, the government of the School was apparently, but not practically, changed to an institution somewhat distinct from that of a branch of the University. Directors were appointed, with a view to make the Theological School an object of more direct attention. It was from this consideration that the Corporation joined with the Society for Promoting Theological Education in the University in the plan of a new board of directors, to whom the chief conducting of its affairs should be intrusted. The Society, in consequence, obtained an act of incorporation, and, under its additional powers, acquired new energy, and made

ample provision for the residence of students in a pleasant locality, and within a building well planned in its apartments for their studies, with a convenient chapel, serving for a lecture-room and library. It was completed in 1826. The Society, having thus accomplished its great object, dissolved, leaving the management of it to the authorities of the University. Its entire separation from the University has been, and is still, a matter *sub judice*. The tendency of public opinion has been favorable to the plan of separation; and many of its warm friends think its prosperity would increase if it were an independent seminary.

Toward the close of Dr. Kirkland's Presidency, after the great expenses that had been incurred for various purposes, including instruction, buildings, improvements on the College grounds, &c., came the day of reckoning. By the report of the Treasurer for the year ending on the 30th of June, 1825, it appeared that the expenditures had exceeded the income by a sum of more than four thousand dollars. The grant of the Legislature to the University from the bank-tax, amounting to ten thousand dollars a year for ten years, one fourth part of which was devoted to charity towards needy students, was now all expended. Consequently, a committee was appointed to make a searching examination of affairs, and devise a mode of recovery. Since the exhaustion of the State grant, students had decreased more than twenty-five *per centum*. The unappropriated funds had been greatly reduced, although expended for objects authorized by law, and sanctioned by the Corporation. As an offset to this diminution of money, the College was able to show substantial and perma-

nent improvements. These, however, could not supersede a faithful examination into the condition of the accounts and funds. This being resolved upon, the door was open for the Treasurer to retire, which he did cheerfully, and to afford entrance to a successor profoundly skilled in accounts, investments, &c.

Ebenezer Francis was chosen Treasurer after the resignation of Hon. John Davis; and in the two years preceding, Charles Jackson, Joseph Story, Francis Calley Gray, and Nathaniel Bowditch were elected to fill the vacancies in the Fellows of the Corporation occasioned by the resignation of John Phillips, in 1823, of Harrison Gray Otis, in 1825, and of William Ellery Channing and William Prescott, in 1826; Rev. Eliphalet Porter being the only member of the board left, as it was constituted before the year 1825. Benjamin R. Nichols, Esq. was appointed Auditor, and was aided by Nathaniel Bowditch and Ebenezer Francis, Esqs., "two individuals," says Mr. Quincy, "not to be exceeded for accuracy, fidelity, and independence of spirit." "After a thorough, minute, and laborious examination of the accounts of the institution, which, in some instances, extended over seventeen years, and some of which had been previously settled by authorized committees, they were correctly and finally closed, and a payment was made of all balances. Some irregularities had occurred, and some errors were rectified; but neither fraud nor embezzlement, nor any selfish appropriation of the funds of the College to private use, was discovered, or to be suspected; and whatever expenditure had been questionable in point of authority had been evidently applied with an honest intent to advance the interest and promote the progress of the institution."

This thorough searching process — indicating in the results that the system in disbursements was not so exact and well-guarded as it should be, and that the diminution of income, to a large amount, for the general purposes of the College, came upon the Corporation and Overseers by surprise — was timely, and was followed by beneficial consequences. The Corporation immediately chose a committee to devise a plan for the reduction of expenses. The committee were of opinion, that the high charge for tuition, namely, fifty-five dollars a year, should be reduced to thirty, believing that the high charge tended to diminish the number of students. They also recommended a general system of reduction, which, in April, 1827, was adopted; namely, "A union of Professorships, where it was practicable; a rescindment of grants made in augmentation of salaries, and of all extra emoluments of the President, Professors, Instructors, Treasurer, and Steward; a repeal of the law authorizing the President to employ a Secretary, whose services were now devolved on the Steward; a prohibition in future of the application of the general funds and incomes of the College to the aid of beneficiaries, and a restriction of all allowances to them to the incomes actually derived from the foundations established for them; and a decrease from six to five and a half *per centum* of the interest allowed on the appropriated funds."

It was thought by the committee that these and some other reductions of minor consequence would produce a saving of eight thousand dollars a year; and, though insufficient to effect all that was aimed at by the committee, would, together with suitable plans of stud-

ics and exercises, and increase of the duties of Professors and Instructors required by the diminution of their number, be an important advance towards an efficient system of retrenchment. To this end the Overseers passed votes, authorizing the Corporation to assign to the officers of instruction such services as may be necessary and reasonable, provided they be not inconsistent with their respective foundations; and also to reduce the charges of the students as the state of the College funds shall permit.

In consequence of this new system of economy, a heavy burden was imposed upon me. I have shown before how my duties were affected by the change that took place when the Boylston Professorship came into full operation. It superseded all that portion of the statutes which related to instruction in the English language, in grammar and rhetoric and their practical application and use in composition, leaving nothing enjoined upon the Hancock Professor but the teaching of the Hebrew and other Oriental languages. Few of the Undergraduates gave much of their time to the study of Hebrew, and of the students in divinity a small part only pursued the study to any great extent before the foundation of the Divinity School. I was therefore subjected to the disagreeable necessity of performing occasional services not pertaining to those prescribed when I entered into the office. It was a pleasure to me, therefore, when I engaged with the Hollis Professor of Divinity in a regular course of instruction given to students in theology. This was the beginning of the School, in the year 1819. It was a voluntary movement, but sanctioned informally by the President.

Professor Frisbie was added as Lecturer on Moral Philosophy, and Mr. Norton, who had delivered a course of lectures on Biblical Criticism in the Academical department as Dexter Lecturer, was elected by the Corporation Dexter Professor, and his services were confined to the Divinity School. Great reliance was justly placed upon Professor Frisbie's usefulness in the School. His uncommon intellectual gifts, cultivated as well by reading and meditation as by social intercourse with enlightened men and women in the vicinity of the College, had given great expansion to his natural power of communicating his thoughts, and his eloquence, partly acquired in the social circle, extended to his oral and graver discourse, which gave to his instructions a charm which could not fail to leave their due impression upon the minds of his ingenuous pupils. Professor Norton's department, that of Biblical Criticism, was one which required great previous learning, such as he possessed in a very uncommon measure. Biblical criticism, in its higher meaning, had begun to be greatly cultivated by the more eminent scholars educated at Harvard College, who studied theology, soon after the beginning of the present century. A few only of the pioneers I name who opened the path, and made the highway plain, — Buckminster, Nichols, Norton, Thacher, — without coming down later, and making invidious distinctions. Mr. Norton continued in his laborious work — laborious, especially, because it required intense study — until his resignation, in March, 1830; and in September of this year a new organization of the theological department took place, by which the President of the University and the Professors in the

School were constituted the Faculty of the Divinity School. Rev. John G. Palfrey was appointed Professor of Biblical Criticism, and Dean of the Faculty. He continued in office nearly nine years, until his resignation, in April, 1839.

Conformably to the report of the committee above mentioned, the Corporation proceeded to make additions to the duties of some of the officers of the College. Mr. George Otis, who was Professor of Latin at the beginning of the year 1827, was superseded in the same year by the assignment of the duties of his Professorship to the Hancock Professor. It was a heavy burden, in addition to the instruction in Hebrew given to undergraduates and students in the Divinity School. I had never instructed pupils in any language except my mother tongue, and in Hebrew and its kindred languages, and, by a little aid, a few learners in German; and thus to begin so serious a work at the near approach of the fiftieth year of my age, with my other occupations and cares, was something rather discouraging in prospect. In my boyhood, I was not critically taught in Latin, and in College, owing to the change of Tutors in the department, who were not very exact in their instructions, and carried us over very little ground, I made but small advances. For several years after leaving College, I read parts of various authors in that language; but this is a very different thing from teaching, from correcting the errors of the taught, and from commenting on difficult passages. This burden, however, I bore, holding the office, as *locum tenens*, for nearly four years. In January, 1831, Mr. Charles Beck, a native of Germany, who had been several

years in the United States, a very thorough Latin scholar, succeeded me as a teacher in this language.

After the new organization of the Divinity School, in the year 1830, and after the Latin department was provided for, I resigned the Hancock Professorship, which I had held for nearly twenty-five years.

While the examination made by the committee of the Corporation above mentioned was going on, the President might be seen in his study, working over a roasting fire, gathering statistical facts from the records of the Faculty, not the most perfect, relating to the internal history of the College, and compiling, from the returns made by the officers of government and instruction, accounts of the state of their different departments. It was a grievous sight to see him thus employed in a business so diverse from his taste. Mingled with these matters there were some money affairs between him and the College, in which the College was his debtor. But everything was adjusted before the close of his presidency, or immediately after; and he remained long enough to find that the University was fast recovering from its temporary embarrassments, which, compared with the unexampled prosperity it had previously enjoyed under his presidency, may be "counted as the small dust of the balance."

Mr. Quincy was one of the fast friends of his predecessor, and he gives us from the records of the Corporation and Overseers an affecting account of the termination of Dr. Kirkland's administration of the affairs of the College.

"In the autumn of ~~1807~~ 1827, the health of President

Kirkland was severely assailed by paralysis, which, for a short time, disqualified him for the performance of his official duties. Although, in a degree, his health was restored, the elasticity and vigor of his mind did not return, his own confidence in his powers began to be impaired, and a natural wish arose to be relieved from the responsibilities of his official station, and to seek more perfect restoration in travel and change of scene and of climate. In April, 1828, he transmitted a letter resigning the office of President to the Corporation, who thereupon

"'Voted, that, in accepting the resignation of the President, the Board express their full sense of all the benefits conferred by him on the institution over which he has presided for so many years, with singular dignity and mildness, highly raising its reputation and increasing its usefulness by his splendid talents and accomplishments, his paternal care, and his faithful services.

"'Voted, that the Secretary be requested to transmit to Rev. Dr. Kirkland a copy of the foregoing vote, with the expression of the earnest wishes of this Board for his future health and happiness.

"'Voted, that the salary of the President be paid up to the next Commencement.'

"On receiving these votes, Dr. Kirkland addressed letters to the Corporation expressing his 'respectful and grateful acknowledgments' of their tenor, and of the manner in which they had been communicated, and of his 'entire satisfaction with the settlement of his pecuniary concerns by the Corporation.'"

In addition to these votes which I have copied, the Corporation speak of an "unliquidated account which ought

to be adjusted on principles of equity," and voted, in addition to the continuance of his salary, that "a further sum of two thousand dollars be allowed to the President, in full of such account, to be paid to the President upon his giving a release of all claims and demands against the Corporation."

The Overseers, when the resignation of the President was communicated to them, passed the following resolution: "That this Board have a deep and grateful sense of the benefits which religion and learning have derived from his distinguished talents, his beneficent virtues, and his unwearied zeal in diffusing the advantages of education, and in promoting the welfare of the University over which he so long presided."

It is gratifying to add to these respectful and sincere formalities the following brief remarks, subjoined to them by the honored successor of Dr. Kirkland in the office of President: —

"Dr. Kirkland will ever be present to the affection of his friends, by their remembrance of the many qualities which endeared him as a man, a public officer, and an associate. Possessing talents of a high order, which he had diligently cultivated, enjoying the friendship of the most influential men among his contemporaries, combining great sagacity with great knowledge of human nature, he conducted this seminary for a succession of years prosperously and with great popularity. Under his auspices, the standard for admission to its privileges was raised, its literary character elevated, the general sphere of its usefulness extended, and those great improvements were effected which have already been the subject of notice and commendation. By those who en-

joyed the benefits of his authority and care, and by those intimately connected with him in official duties, he is remembered with an affection and respect due to his virtues and talents; and when his days of life had passed, the alumni who had been educated under his care gathered round his tomb to pay their tribute of gratitude and respect to his memory and fame."

The Law School and the Divinity School were both established during the Presidency of Dr. Kirkland. Isaac Royall, a Loyalist at the time when the American Revolution began, and residing in Charlestown on an estate which is now within the bounds of Medford, early in the progress of the war went to England, but did not lose his attachment to the place of his residence, or to the Province in which he had been a Representative to the General Court, and a Councillor. Besides his fine estate in Medford, he possessed other landed property in Massachusetts. He made and executed a will while in London, more than a year before his death, in which he bequeathed more than two thousand acres of land in the towns of Granby and Royalton, in the County of Worcester, to Harvard College, "to be appropriated towards endowing a Professor of Law in said College, or a Professor of Physic or Anatomy, whichever the Corporation and Overseers of said College shall judge best for its benefit; and they shall have full power to sell said lands, and put the money out to interest, the income whereof shall be for the above purpose." In the year 1815, Hon. Isaac Parker, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was chosen the first Professor, and in the year 1817, at his suggestion, a Law School was established, of which the Hon. Asahel Stearns

was elected Professor, with the title of University Professor of Law. I heard a great part of Judge Parker's course of lectures in what was then the Philosophy Chamber in Harvard Hall. They were written in a perspicuous style, were listened to with much satisfaction, and contained much useful information, adapted to all literary and intelligent hearers. Mr. Stearns was highly respected by the students under his instruction, and some of them I know, and all I suppose, were much attached to him. He was a man of highly estimable character, and held his office until about the time of the new organization of the School, occasioned by the generous donation of the Hon. Nathan Dane.

Of the Theological School, President Kirkland was a great benefactor, by his personal influence and the influence of his character, which was widely extended, especially where he was best known. Thus it was, that in a very short time the committee for obtaining subscriptions in the "New South Society," the religious society of which he had been the minister, obtained four thousand two hundred and eighty-five dollars in donations, and seventy-seven dollars from annual subscribers. It has already been shown with what rapidity funds were collected for buildings, &c., in various towns, particularly Boston and Salem, for the accommodation of this School, which, in a manner, sprung up full grown. Thus two important departments or schools were established in the University during the time of one eminent presiding officer; so that before he withdrew from this office he could count four distinct, grand departments or schools in the Uni-

versity, in their order, — the Academic, Medical, Law, and Divinity, in different stages of progress. But the Law School, respectable in the beginning, with its new organization and large endowments, though much was predicted of its increasing number of students, has outrun the most sanguine calculations. The professorships in which appointments were first made during Dr. Kirkland's presidency were the Rumford Professorship, on the Application of Science to the Useful Arts; the Smith Professorship of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures; The Alford Professorship of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity; the Eliot Professorship of the Greek Language and Literature; and the Royall Professorship of Law.

Besides these, two others were founded, namely, the McLean Professorship of Ancient and Modern History, and the Perkins Professorship of Astronomy and Mathematics.*

The Hon. Samuel A. Eliot, who was Treasurer of Harvard College from the year 1842 to the year 1853, says: "The donations and bequests received during Dr. Kirkland's presidency were so many and so large, greatly exceeding in amount those which have been received in any other period of seventeen years, and reaching the truly vast total of nearly four hundred thousand dollars, a great part of which was obtained by his personal efforts and influence, that he must be classed among the greatest pecuniary benefactors of the College."

* Sketch of the History of Harvard College, and of its Present State, by Samuel A. Eliot, p. 108. 1848.

My earliest remembrance of Dr. Kirkland carries me back sixty-one years. It was in the evening of Commencement day, in the year 1794, when I had just returned home from the place of my solitary study, and was trembling at the thought of the examination for admission into College, that I saw him at the President's, in a mixed company of gentlemen, and gazed at his benign and cheerful countenance, when he was engaged in conversation with the charmed group about him. My turn came unexpectedly to receive his notice, and such was its manner and tact that it banished all my timidity, and was never forgotten. I heard him preach his afternoon Thanksgiving sermon, the same year, in the South Church in Boston, over which he had been just ordained as the pastor; and though incompetent to judge of its merits, being immature even for a boy of fourteen years, yet in the delivery and the style of the discourse there was something that won my admiration beyond what I had ever felt in a preacher before. Not until I became the Librarian of the College did I see him often; but then he was frequently in the Library; and there, and in all my subsequent intercourse with him in various relations, his social character and instructive conversation imparted a pleasure and left an impression never forgotten or slightly appreciated.

Among the efforts during his presidency for the enlargement of the University was the attempt to establish an Observatory near its public buildings; but the effort failed. The accomplishment of the work was left for the opening glory of his successor in office. By his influence and aid, and by the co-operation of men of the

like spirit and influence, the work went on; the house at the corner of Harvard and Quincy Streets, where the instruments were first placed and the observations were commenced, was abandoned for buildings expressly constructed for the Observatory, on the eminence where they now stand. There live the astronomical observers, furnished with the choicest instruments, and the institution is in all respects richly endowed. In regard to all other important concerns of the College, Mr. Quincy was vigilant, and the growth of the University was constant, and it was left by him, after a long period of service, in a sound condition.

It was my intention in the outset to proceed farther in my Personal Memories, and especially in regard to men and things, and changes of both, in Cambridge; but it is time for me to pause. Possibly I may resume the work, should my health continue to improve, and my life be prolonged; and if, also, in the mean time, my friend, Lucius R. Paige, Esq., who has been working for some time in this field, should not first invite us to revel at the feast of such a thorough, full-gathered harvest-home, as to leave no scattered remains worthy of the gleaning.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Humphrey Devereux.

In speaking of Mr. Devereux's exertions to bring together the survivors of his class, at the close of the half-century after their graduation, at the seat of their *Alma Mater*, on Commencement day, I remarked that there was an afterthought of the same gentleman worthy of attention. The following paper will explain what I alluded to.

PREFACE.

The surviving graduates of the class of 1798, on the late celebration of their semi-centennial anniversary, having received so much pleasure from the reunion of early friends and the recollection of pleasures which time had only served to impress more deeply, decided to do their part to secure to their successors the annual repetition of the same delightful scenes, to rekindle love and veneration for their Alma Mater, and to add the testimony of past time to the convictions of future

youth and manhood of her venerated and beneficent influence.

For this purpose, it was proposed that a book be prepared to preserve in the College Library, by permission, the autograph of every graduate living now, or hereafter. And to effect this object, these sheets are now prepared.

PLAN.

On one sheet, let the graduating class of this year write their respective names, with their residence and year, in the first column, and after fifty years, 1898, let those of them who may then be living and present write them again, in the parallel column.

Another sheet is prepared for all who have already completed fifty years, to write their names, residence, and year of writing, in their proper places, in their respective classes.

Parallel columns are also ruled for the classes of 1790 and 1800 to write their several names, as soon as practicable, in the first column, and again, on the completion of their fifty years, in the second column.

For the classes of 1801 to 1847, inclusive, the sheets are now prepared, that they also may sign in this manner, — this book to be sufficient to contain, say one hundred classes from this time.

Should we not have been highly gratified, could we have seen this done one hundred or two hundred years ago? Let us do for our successors what we should have been so much pleased to have had done for us by our predecessors.

Let every one write his name, according to his usual signature, or at full length, as may be most agreeable.

No. II.

Library of Harvard University,
Cambridge, May 14, 1855.

Hon. Sidney Willard: —

My dear Sir, — You ask me what measures are taken, particularly by myself, to collect and preserve materials for biographies of graduates of Harvard University.

From the year 1732, with the exception of a considerable part of President Kirkland's administration, the Faculty Records purport to contain the ages of the students and the places of their residence when they entered College. The dates of the births begin with the class which graduated in the year 1741, but they are not always correct. In the year 1827, the present system of class-books was commenced. One of these is procured by each class, and each member has a specified number of pages allowed him, on which he may write what he chooses respecting himself. These class-books are left with the class-secretaries, whose duty it is, after graduation, to keep them "posted up," so far as practicable; and each member is expected to keep the secretary of the class acquainted with his personal history. When the last survivors of a class pass away, the class-book is to become the property of the Library of Harvard University.

Nearly all the members of the class of 1852 placed their daguerreotypes in the College Library. The classes of 1853 and 1854 gave their crystallotypes; and the class of 1855 propose to procure theirs, and to incorporate with them the crystallotypes of the members of the College Faculty. The series, if continued, will be one of the most interesting objects at the University. Copies are also multiplied, at small additional expense, if wanted, so that any one may preserve a series for himself.

Besides William Winthrop's original interleaved Triennial Catalogue, the College Library contains one with brief memoranda by the Rev. Nicholas Gilman, of Durham, N. H., who was graduated in 1724, and another with manuscript notes by the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D. To the latter are additions in the handwriting of the Rev. Dr. Eliot of Boston. The Rev. John Pierce, D.D., of Brookline, left on all his interleaved Triennials written instructions for me to keep them as long as I wished, and then they are to go to the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The late John Farmer, of Concord, N. H., made extensive collections of materials for biographical sketches of the graduates, and some of them have been published. But there is no collection so good as that of Joseph Palmer, M.D., of Boston, who has shown a diligent, persevering, and enthusiastic interest in the subject for many years.

Since I received the volume which was planned by the class of 1798, on the occasion of their fiftieth anniversary, several graduates have written their names in it, and most of the members of the successive Senior classes have written theirs a short time before leaving College. Within a few years, nearly all the members of the classes, as they were successively graduating, have willingly communicated to me, *viva voce*, the prominent incidents in their lives, and allowed me to jot them down. The value of such a record is commonly acknowledged, and, by the perseverance and the co-operation of some of the class who are most interested in such subjects, useful information has been saved which otherwise would be lost. The topics to which attention is directed are the places and dates of their birth, their parents, their paternal and maternal ancestors, the schools and academies where they have studied, teachers by whom they were fitted for College, and the time of their admission, their vocations or trades, journeys and travels, places and seasons of teaching schools, the books and pamphlets of which they may have been authors, striking incidents and accidents, favorite pursuits, predilections,

&c., &c. As these and similar topics are successively introduced, each one is left to reply or not, as he chooses, and no record is made of anything to which he objects. All are requested to be communicative, to any extent they please, beyond the topics suggested. By some, the information given is quite limited, their lives being very uneventful. The details of others are so various, the "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties" is so peculiar, and the experience so strange, that a volume might be made of selections from the sketches, which at times would border on romance. The details, with a view to secure accuracy, are read by the individual, who confers an additional favor by putting his autograph in full at the bottom. I have occasionally been able to make similar memoranda in relation to graduates of long standing, and in such cases the history is carried forward through their professions, various locations, occupations, offices, honors, family relations, publications, &c. For each statement it is deemed very important to secure the dates, not only of the year, but of the month and the day. These materials now cover several quires of closely written paper, ruled uniformly and with a large margin, so that they can be bound in volumes. Of their value hereafter we can judge by the importance we should attach to such a collection, covering the whole period of the history of the College since its foundation, and rescuing many a worthy and useful man from oblivion, of whom now nothing, perhaps, is known, except the name on the Triennial Catalogue.

The first Triennial which I edited was published in the year 1842. Since that time letters and manuscript memoranda have been constantly accumulating, and they are all preserved. In addition to these, an interleaved copy for each edition has been kept, in which, with the exception of what was derived from catalogues of other institutions, I have endeavored to record the authority for every change which has been made, even to the omission or addition of a letter. Latterly, when

I could get them, I have saved newspapers containing obituaries or notices of appointments to office or of other honors. Of course the number which one person sees is very limited; but if every graduate would forward a copy of each of the newspapers of this kind with which he meets, whether new or old, the collection would throw great light on the biographical history of the University. I have written some obituary notices which are printed in the Cambridge Chronicle. For several years Dr. Palmer has annually, on or near Commencement day, published in the Boston Daily Advertiser notices of all whose deaths have been heard of during the year.

No obituary dates were ever inserted in any Triennial before the year 1845. The edition issued in that year contained an "Advertisement," soliciting information, and entering somewhat into particulars as to what was wanted. In 1846, N. B. Shurtleff, M.D., sent a circular of inquiries to his classmates. In 1849, Jesse Chickering, M.D., sent circulars to the class of 1818; and in 1852, a similar appeal was made to the class of 1820, by Joseph Palmer, M.D. Probably there have been a few others. The late William Cogswell, D.D., sent circulars of questions to the graduates generally. All these have elicited some information, but not so much as might reasonably be expected. If provision were made by each class, that, for private distribution among themselves, a few copies of biographical sketches of all the members, including the deceased, should be published regularly at intervals of two, three, or five years, the sketches would not only be interesting to the survivors, but furnish rich materials for a general biography hereafter.

By diligently improving the very few hours in the week when I am not required to devote myself to the business of the Library, I have been able, in the course of the last few years, to examine with great care several thousand volumes, and probably more than twenty thousand pamphlets, and, in almost every instance where

the name of a graduate occurred, to record a reference to it in a copy of the Triennial prepared for the purpose, with a large number of blank leaves. When the whole Library shall have been examined in this way, as I think it may be in time, there will be a key to nearly everything which it contains in relation to all the sons of Harvard. If to this we add what may be gleaned from files of newspapers, family records, graveyards, the records of towns, of probate, of deeds, of churches, and the developments made respecting graduates in town histories and books of genealogies, which are constantly on the increase, it is believed there will be materials for some one, of the next generation at least, to make a series of biographical sketches that will do honor to the University. This cannot be done by one person. If all, or even a few, would do what they might, by contributing such information as has been alluded to, the work, though arduous, would be comparatively easy. Unless considerable assistance of this kind is rendered, the work cannot be accomplished.

I have thus complied with your request, so far as to give you a hurried sketch of some of the measures which have been taken, particularly by myself, to collect and preserve materials for biographies of the graduates of Harvard University; and to this I have ventured to add a few hints which would make the collections more complete.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

No. III.

Hon. Samuel P. P. Fay.

In speaking of the leave-taking of the College by my class, on the 21st of June, 1798, — Class-day, as it is now called, — I inadvertently forgot to mention, that, according to custom, at that period, Fay delivered a Latin Valedictory Oration in the Chapel, in the presence of the Immediate Government, and of the students of other classes who chose to be present. Speaking to him on the subject some time since, he told me that he believed Story delivered a Poem on the same occasion. The impression on my memory was, that Story delivered a poem at an Exhibition in one of the Senior terms, and at Commencement, and that the Oration of Fay was the only performance at our class celebration. Perhaps it will remain a mooted question, although, on the whole, Fay having been more intimate with Story than I was at the time, and having performed an exercise before the class on that day, would be more apt to remember the facts in the case. There was no poetical performance in the celebration of the day in the class before ours, on the same occasion; Dr. John C. Warren's Latin Oration being the only performance, and his class counting as many reputed poets as ours did.

No. IV.

Rev. Abiel Abbot, D.D., of whom I spoke as the Tutor in Greek in my Freshman year at College, in 1794, and who was afterwards pastor of a congregation in Connecticut, and subsequently in Peterborough, New Hampshire, where I supposed he continued to remain as senior pastor, although unable, on account of the infirmities of old age, to perform pastoral duties, has removed, during the past year, to West Cambridge, and resides in the family of his grandson, Mr. Samuel Abbot Smith, who is the minister of the Congregational Church in that place.

Rev. Dr. Fiske, formerly minister of the same church in West Cambridge, has recently removed to Charlestown, and lives in the family of his son-in-law and daughter. Mr. Abbot and Mr. Fiske are nearly of the same age, about ninety years. The former was graduated at Harvard College in the year 1787, and the latter in 1785. Both are enfeebled in body, but retain their mental powers in a remarkable degree.

No. V.

Catalogue of Harvard College Library.

Of the Catalogue printed in 1790, called the first Catalogue, I have given some account in its place. There

was a Catalogue of the old Library, printed in the year 1723, forty-one years before it was burned, with Harvard Hall. It contained few English books. Shakespeare's Plays stand out conspicuously, surrounded by contemporaneous authors of theological works, written in Latin. This Catalogue was made and printed at the suggestion of Hollis, who wished to know what books it contained, and thus see what was wanted. A large part of the edition was sent to him at his request, and was distributed among his friends, in hopes of procuring additions to the Library. He complained to Dr. Colman, his constant correspondent, of the want of proper care of the Library; particularly that there was no suitable provision in the room for those who wished to consult the books, and to make extracts from them, or references, &c.

No. VI.

Phi Beta Kappa Society and Literary Miscellany.

The book of the Society which contains its constitution and early records, which I have spoken of as missing, has not been found. In regard to what I have said about the origin of the Literary Miscellany, there is an error, which I am able to correct by loose slips of paper, on which the proceedings of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, in the years 1802, 1803, and 1804, were minuted and filed.

"At the Anniversary Meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, August 26, 1802.

"6th. Voted that Brothers Hedge, William Emerson, and F. D. Channing be a committee to consider the expediency of a plan for a literary publication in the name of the Society."

"At the Anniversary Meeting, &c., September 1, 1803.

"The committee appointed to consider the expediency of a literary publication reported in favor of such a plan.

"Voted, that the report be accepted.

"Voted, that Brothers Harris, Hedge . . . . ."

Here the minutes stop on this subject.

"At the Anniversary Meeting, &c. of the Phi Beta Kappa, August 30, 1804.

"The committee for carrying on a literary publication having reported the progress of that undertaking,

"Voted, that the report be accepted.

"Voted, that Brothers Harris,* Hedge, Pierce, William Emerson, F. D. Channing, Jenks, Cleaveland, Willard, and the President (Rev. Dr. Kirkland) be a committee, with full powers, to carry the foregoing report into effect."

No. VII.

Scientific School.

This fifth great department in Harvard University is of very recent origin. It was during the three

* Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, D.D.

years' Presidency of Hon. Edward Everett that the donations of the distinguished benefactor of this institution were named by the President, after dinner, in Harvard Hall, on Commencement day, to the sons of the College, in his most graceful and cheering manner, and the name of Lawrence was prefixed in his annunciation of the magnificent endowment, as "the Lawrence Scientific School." It is amply provided for, in regard to instruction and opportunities for study, and the condition of the School is reported to be in every respect prosperous.

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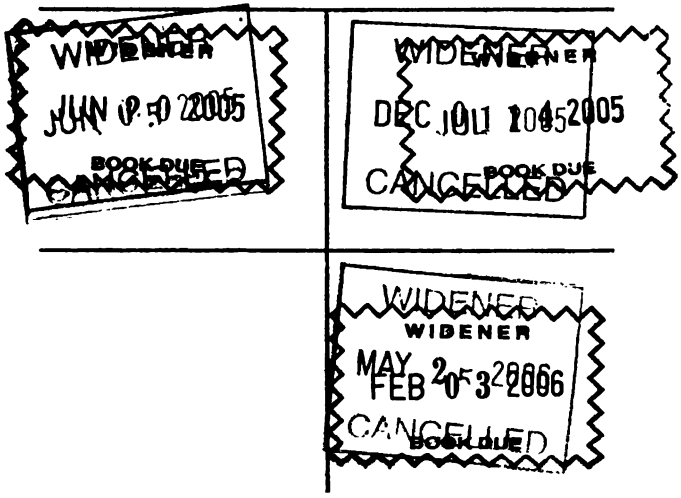

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